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The Shape of Things

SUCCESS IN COPING WITH THE FINANCIAL and economic crisis will be the touchstone of the new French government headed by Felix Gouin, Socialist leader. That crisis is reflected in the growing scarcity of necessities on the legal market, in the continued rise in prices, in the difficulty of arranging for urgently required imports. But the most sinister danger sign is the rapid expansion in currency circulation. Production in France is recovering, but it cannot keep pace with the output of money from the printing presses. Both to stimulate production and to check the issue of currency, drastic measures are required. One of the largest contributors to the current budgetary deficit is the army, two million strong, and any genuine economy program must begin by trimming the military establishment. Partial demobilization, together with a sharp reduction in the number of civil officials, will in addition release more man-power for productive purposes. Action on these lines is included in the plans of the new government, which has also announced its intention to freeze salaries of public employees, intensify curbs on the black market, and introduce some form of monetary control. On paper this appears to be a fairly adequate program, but its translation into fact will be unpopular in the short run, and the short run includes the spring elections. Action, therefore, depends on the willingness of the three major parties represented in the Cabinet to abandon all competitive angling for votes and to function as a real national government.

*

IN ONE OF THE MOST CYNICAL STATEMENTS of the century, Hitler's heir, Francisco Franco, has flatly denied any kinship with the Axis. Evidence of his Nazi ties, accumulated over the past nine years and now fully confirmed by the Ciano diaries and the testimony of the war criminals at Nürnberg, was wiped out in an hour of amiable conversation between the Generalissimo and A. P. correspondent DeWitt Mackenzie. The interview, in which Franco announced the early establishment of a democratic regime headed by the "Christian general" himself, was granted just a few hours after a Spanish military court had condemned ten more anti-fascists to death, including Cristino García Granda, commander of the Spanish forces in the French *maquis*. The former Axis puppet, devoid of decency though he is, would never have dared tell an American correspondent such a story had he not felt encouraged by fresh indications that the United States and Britain intend to continue their policy of appeasing Spain. On the heels of an announcement by the three major French parties that they will ask Felix Gouin's new government to sever relations with Franco, comes the news that the United States has sold five "non-military" planes and a mass of other mechanical equipment to Spain. And according to Walter Winchell, the Spanish fascist regime will also receive American army machine-guns (also "non-military"?) from Italy. Not to be outdone by Washington, the British government has just concluded a deal with Franco for the purchase of British-made trucks; fifty are already on the high seas with hundreds more scheduled to follow. No wonder Franco laughs off the San Francisco resolution and the Potsdam decision outlawing Spain from the United Nations.

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CHINA'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL has apparently made considerable progress in bridging the political chasm between the Kuomintang and the Communists. The problem of nationalizing the Kuomintang and Communist military forces seems well on the way to settlement as a result of the agreement to create a joint command and General Marshall's acceptance of an advisory positon on the reorganization committee. All parties have accepted a plan to expand the State Council as the supreme organ of government until the new constitution is adopted. And the obstacle raised by Chiang Kai-shek's insistence on convening the pre-war National Assembly on May 6 seems to have been neatly sidetracked by an understanding that the Assembly will have no power except to rubber-stamp the constitution drawn up through inter-party negotiation. But the problem of allotting posts in the new government and the question of Chiang Kai-shek's emergency powers remain unsettled. The Kuomintang insists that it should hold a majority of key posts in the new government until an election can be held. Representatives of the Communists

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor J. King Gordon — *Washington Editor* I. F. Stone — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors
Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

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Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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and the Democratic League insist on a genuine coalition government in which some key posts will be held by non-partisan leaders. Although this struggle for political supremacy is basic, the disputes are of a nature that should be easily compromised, if the will to compromise exists.

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IN THE BEGINNING GOD MADE THE HEAVENS and the earth in six days, arranging the land and oceans, and setting the stars and the sun and moon in their places. That was either 5,950 or 1,000,000,000 years ago; the precise figure is in dispute. The important point is that from then until the other day the earth was relatively incommunicado. Now the Army Signal Corps has changed things, bouncing a radar pulse to the moon and back in two and a half seconds flat. This is only a beginning, as the history of invention has painfully taught us. The first gasoline-driven motor became the contemporary traffic jam, while the bomb that fell on Hiroshima was once an innocent, if unintelligible, equation. We know, we moderns, that the echo from the moon's icy and hitherto inviolate surface opens possibilities of trouble the Signal Corps dares not even hint at. Any day now we may set up two-way connections with Mars. When that happens *The Nation* nominates Orson Welles to carry on the first interplanetary chat; he knows those boys already.

*

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN Activities has voted to bring contempt proceedings against Helen R. Bryan, executive secretary of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, because of her refusal to produce the records of that organization. We applaud Miss Bryan's courage in defying her would-be inquisitors. Her action should provide an opportunity for a full review by the House of the activities of this un-American Congressional committee which has evidently set itself the difficult task of making Martin Dies seem, by comparison, tolerant and objective. Another of its recent victims is the National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism, which has been circulating a petition in support of the Dickstein resolution condemning racial discrimination. Ernie Adamson, counsel of the un-American committee, who apparently has never heard of the constitutional right of petition, declares that the National Committee's solicitation of money is "for the purpose of controlling the thoughts of American citizens." Mr. Adamson's own uncontrolled thinking is illustrated by his professed inability to discover any "Nazi Party" in the United States. Perhaps he has been looking through the telephone books for organizations calling themselves "Nazi" or "National Socialists." Is he too innocent to know that a group by any other name can smell as bad or are his olfactory membranes insensitive to fascism?

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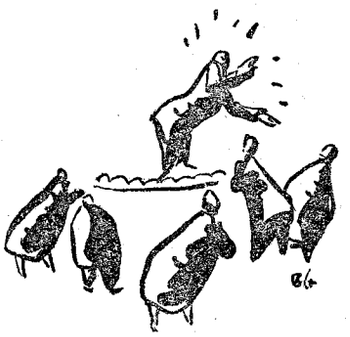
IN THEIR FILIBUSTER AGAINST THE BILL TO create a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, a handful of wilful Southerners are causing serious people throughout the world to question the adequacy of our legislative system. In no other country would it be possible for a tiny minority in a legislative chamber to stop all action for an indefinite period. It is bad enough that there should be delay in setting up an agency empowered to stop racial discrimination in the field of employment. But the filibusterers, who in theory are members of the majority party, are prepared to obstruct indefinitely, not only this vital part of the President's reconversion plans, but his entire program as outlined in his message to Congress. They are able to do this only because a considerably larger group in the Senate, including many supposed supporters of the FEPC, is unwilling to discard the hoary Senate tradition of unlimited debate. The fact that the present deadlock could last for more than a week despite an exceptionally heavy legislative calendar points to the need for a fundamental revamping of the Senate rules. But the immediate need, if still more time is not to be wasted, is for a public uprising to demand prompt adoption of the cloture rule.



Break in the Clouds

A WEEK which began with the industrial picture cast into heavy shadow by the shut-down of the steel industry has ended with a perceptible lifting of the clouds. Workers are returning to the packing plants with a promise that the government, which has taken over their management, will implement any wage increase approved by the fact-finding panel. The threat of a railroad strike appears to have been dissipated by an agreement between the companies and eighteen unions to arbitrate wage demands. Most important of all, wage negotiations have been peacefully concluded between the United Automobile Workers and the Ford and Chrysler companies providing for increases of 18 and 18½ cents an hour respectively. As a result Ford's average hourly rate will be raised to $1.37 and Chrysler's to $1.30½.

In view of these settlements General Motors is left without a shred of excuse for refusing to pay the 19½-cent increase recommended by the fact-finders. It took the position that its ability to pay as the largest and most prosperous automobile manufacturer was irrelevant. Wages, its spokesmen declared, must be determined by the competitive "going rate" for the industry. It cannot complain, therefore, that 19½ cents is out of line, since this will raise its hourly average to no more than $1.31½. In fact, the upshot of the collective bargaining between the U. A. W. and the Ford and Chrysler corporations appears to have set a pattern which it will be hard for other big mass-production concerns now involved in industrial disputes to ignore. This pattern, moreover, has been confirmed by an agreement for a 17½-cent hourly wage increase reached without a strike by the Radio Corporation of America and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, C. I. O. If General Motors, General Electric, Westinghouse, and International Harvester now remain recalcitrant, they will afford new circumstantial evidence to support the charge that they are primarily interested in union-busting.

Labor peace in the engineering industries, however, will not mean much in the way of production until the steel strike is ended. Already Ford has been forced to lay off 15,000 workers for lack of steel, and if the dispute continues for long, innumerable factories will be forced to close and unemployment will increase enormously. The public, perhaps, is not yet fully aware of what a national steel stoppage means, for its effect is not immediately perceptible to everyone, as is that of a meat strike. The President, however, is fully informed about the gravity of the situation, and it is regrettable that he should not have followed through more strongly after his proposal for settling the dispute was rejected by United States Steel on behalf of the industry as a whole. His rather peevish remark at his last press conference that the trouble was due to the desire of both sides to show their power suggested an unrealistic desire to stay above the battle.

However, the President did reiterate his belief that the steel companies ought to make a return to work possible by agreeing to his recommended wage increase of 18½ cents an hour. The Ford and Chrysler settlements make any retreat from this figure, which would leave the relative levels of steel and automobile wages undisturbed, quite impracticable for the President and the steel union alike. As we go to press, there are indications of a new approach by the steel masters to the White House. With Mr. Truman adamant on wages, their objective will be to secure a price increase beyond the $4 a ton tentatively offered before the strike broke out. Basic steel prices have been frozen at approximately pre-war levels, and although cancellation of rebates and higher quotations for specialties have increased the average return per ton, some rise in prices may be justified. A $4 increase, however, should more than cover additions to the wage bill of the industry and leave a good margin for profits, provided output is maintained fairly near capacity. That this is possible for a long period can hardly be questioned since the demand for steel, as for goods of all kinds, will be enormous once business accepts the necessity for giving labor a share of post-war prosperity and gets on with the job.

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Bias in the Colleges

IN THE United States, as in Nazi Germany or pre-war Poland, opportunity for a higher education is sharply conditioned by a student's religious, racial, or national background. This shocking although not entirely unexpected revelation is documented for the first time in a preliminary research report prepared in New York for the Mayor's Committee on Unity, headed by Charles Evans Hughes, Jr. Quotas restricting the number of Negro, Jewish, and Italian students in our "better" medical and law schools have long been a matter of common knowledge. The report for the Mayor's Committee reveals that these discriminatory practices have not only spread to the liberal-arts colleges in and near New York but have become so general that members of minority groups find great difficulty in getting an adequate education. Although the colleges publicly deny it, many deans and prominent faculty members privately admit that discrimination exists, applying to Catholics, as well as Jews, Negroes, and Italians. A usual device is to restrict the number of students who can be admitted from New York City. The private colleges in the New York area, which are among the worst offenders, defend the practice as necessary to preserve their "national" character; more remote institutions say that they cannot turn over their educational facilities to New Yorkers at the expense of local residents. As the result of this stratagem, the percentage of Jewish students in the colleges is said to have fallen about 50 per cent in the decade preceding World War II.

Members of the various minority groups living in New York may, it is true, still obtain undegraduate training in the colleges run by the city. But they find themselves virtually shut out of professional training, especially in medicine. From 1942 to 1944, with a severe shortage of physicians throughout the country, only six graduates of City College were admitted to two of the city's leading medical schools. The proportion of Jewish students in Grade A medical schools covered by the report dropped from 12.2 per cent in 1933 to 6.3 per cent in 1938. Only a few Negroes are accepted by the first-rank medical schools, while Catholics and young men and women of Italian ancestry must surmount formidable obstacles if they are to get an adequate medical education.

Any fair-minded person will admit that these academic restrictions are not entirely the result of racial or religious bigotry in the institutions. Although we look to the colleges for leadership in the fight to expose racial and religious hokum, we must recognize that, as part of the American community, they are subject to all kinds of pressures. The position of any one institution is difficult. If it adopts liberal entrance requirements, it faces the danger of being swamped by members of the minority groups, thus sacrificing its "standing" in the community as well as the real benefits of a broadly representative student body. Clearly we are confronted with a situation that must be met by joint action. Some organization such as the Association of American Colleges should work out a plan for outlawing racial and religious bias to which all institutions would subscribe. This process would be hastened if the federal government and each of the states made certain that no direct federal or state aid, or indirect aid such as tax exemption, was given any educational institution practicing discrimination in its admission system.

New York presents a special problem. While it stands near the top in per capita expenditure for public education, it ranks lowest, according to the report to the Mayor's Committee, in its support of higher education. It is one of the few states in the country which does not maintain a state university. As an immediate and effective means of combating bias, and providing an opportunity for higher education for all its citizens, the New York legislature should pass the bill recently introduced to create a state university with adequate facilities for professional training.

USA and UNO

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

SLOWLY the unwelcome suspicion is spreading in London that the United States, not Russia, is the great enigma. Russia may be tough, aggressive, provocative. It is usually intelligible. Its policy is predicated on a clear view of its interests, which demand firm adherence to big-power control within the world organization and a generous extension of its own area of dominance outside. Where these lines of policy threaten to collide, Russia gives right of way to its private security arrangements. The reasons for this are not obscure. One of the most important is the enigmatic role of the United States.

Britain, too, is comparatively easy to understand. Chastened by its obvious relative weakness in the Big Three, it is prepared to trust more to the operations of the UNO, and in the UNO to expand the powers of the lesser nations. Britain aspires to leadership of the Western nations while at the same time clinging to its position in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean with the desperate tenacity of a man who knows his hands are slipping.

Only the United States pursues a course difficult to interpret in terms of clear objectives. Bursting with material power, strong beyond all possibility of challenge, this country's policy remains obscure and unpredictable, and hence immensely disturbing. Our leaders talk with apparent conviction about our determination "this time" to carry our full share of responsibility for building a

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solid world order. Only a few months ago President Truman announced that we intended "to have a positive policy toward every country and on every question." What is this positive policy? Let us look at the questions on which our position has become more or less clearly defined.

First and most important, the atomic bomb. The bomb has hung over the UNO's deliberations as palpably and visibly as if it were suspended from the chandelier. But all eyes are turned away from it. Nobody talks about it. An atomic-power commission is set up by nearly unanimous agreement, but this act is accomplished in a semi-automatic, off-hand manner, as if it were a matter of little importance. Perhaps it is. For the commission can only recommend to the Security Council, and the United States can veto its recommendations, meanwhile keeping the bomb in its sole possession—meanwhile manufacturing bombs reported to be a thousand times stronger than those which dropped on Japan. What can the nations do but set up a commission on the terms proposed and pass quickly to other questions?

The policy of the United States on the control of atomic power is aggressively, provocatively nationalistic.

Second, the trusteeship question. On the colonial aspects of this question our expressed policy is liberal in the extreme. We don't like colonialism; during the war we encouraged the aspirations of dependent peoples in the Pacific and helped Britain push France out of the Levant. And even today our sympathies are rather with the Javanese than with their rulers. We can be counted upon to get trusteeships for colonial areas under way as soon as possible. But in the Pacific where our new line of defense is being laid out we take a very simple view of our international obligations. The island bases won from Japan are strategic areas, necessary to "our" security; if we consent to include them within the trusteeship system, we shall maintain "exclusive" control over them. If we decide to hold them outright, the trusteeship agreement provides for that, too. They are ours either way. American blood won them; America will keep them. Until this moment it has apparently never occurred to us that our position might be challenged—as we have challenged the unilateral security moves of our Allies.

The policy of the United States on the trusteeship question is nakedly, almost innocently, nationalistic.

On other issues it is less clear, although often we follow a similar pattern, warmly indorsing democratic or collective procedures for other nations, deftly dodging them when our own interests are involved. Take, for instance, the Western Hemisphere. We have constructed a regional system on our side of the world, in which the United States is dominant. We intend, according to President Truman, to settle hemisphere problems "without interference from outside." This is a policy. But it runs directly counter to the whole concept of the United Nations Organization. If Britain asserted the right of Western Europe to settle its problems without American interference, we would say that the Charter had been violated and the hope of collective security lost; and we would be right. We strongly oppose the heavy hand of Russia in Eastern Europe, but Russia has never asserted exclusive rights there. And in this regional structure of ours we tolerate a regime wholly fascist, openly aggressive in its purposes.

What is our "positive policy toward every country and on every question?" At London the American delegation hoped to keep controversial issues out of the meeting, an obvious impossibility in a world simmering with political conflict. This week our delegates must deal with Iran's charge against Russia—an issue that involves a major struggle for power between the Soviet Union and Britain; they must take a position on Britain's role in Greece and Indonesia; on French objections to trusteeship for colonial areas to be "incorporated" into France. The question of Argentina's suspension from the UNO, raised by The Nation Associates in a memorandum which appears with this issue, may be formally put before the Assembly. France is expected to call for joint action to restore democratic institutions in Spain. On all these questions the United States must act. How shall we act? Mr. Byrnes has come home (to prepare for the peace conference in May!) leaving the American delegation in the hands of Mr. Stettinius. Anyone who watched that well-intentioned nonentity at work in San Francisco, who heard him, for example, attempting to explain the admission of Argentina, will smile at the idea that he can deal effectively with the political problems crowding in for attention.

What the UNO needs above all else is strong, disinterested leadership, and no country is so well situated to provide it as the United States. Our overwhelming power as well as our relative physical detachment protect us from the pressures that today drive other nations to short-range, unilateral, defensive moves. We can afford to support broader measures of security. We are in a position to move consciously and energetically toward the goal defined so impressively by the President when the UNO meeting opened. "It is important," said Mr. Truman, "that the nations come together *as states* in the Assembly and in the Security Council and in the other specialized assemblies and councils that have been and will be arranged. But that is not enough. Our ultimate security requires more than a process of consultation and compromise. It requires that we *begin now to develop the United Nations Organization as the representative of the world as one society.*"

If this statement received less attention than its contant warranted, it is because both states and peoples have learned to discount the words of American leaders. It is high time we developed the maturity to make our strength more than a club and our promises more than rhetoric.

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Where There Is No Vision

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 24

THE collector of banalities will find rich pickings in the President's message on the state of the union. "The plain fact is," Mr. Truman said at one point, with the air of a man about to make a disclosure, "that civilization was saved in 1945 by the United Nations." His draftsmen have a way of painfully and laboriously thinking through to a truism. "The way to get good nutrition for the whole nation," the message offers, "is to provide employment opportunities and purchasing power for all groups that will enable them to buy full diets at market prices." There are passages which recall Calvin Coolidge: "On the domestic scene, as well as on the international scene, we must lay a new and better foundation for cooperation." At times the White House seemed to feel that a plethora of adjectives might make up for the continued absence of any concrete plan, as on housing. "A realistic and practical attack on the emergency will require aggressive action by local governments, with federal aid, to exploit all opportunities," Mr. Truman averred, "and to give the veterans as far as possible first chance at vacancies." The sentence shows a gift for anti-climax. The housing program itself, if it can be called a program, prepares one whole-heartedly to accept the message's forecast: "It will be years before we catch up with the demand for housing."

It would be literary foppishness to dwell on phrases of this kind if the fault lay in the writing, though effective expression is no small part of leadership. But the fault lies deeper. One has the feeling in reading this unnecessarily lengthy and criminally tedious message that Mr. Truman and the little band of mediocrities who have become his advisers are trying to follow the New Deal program in a kind of fog. The men who wrote the message—Mr. Truman, like Mr. Roosevelt, necessarily relies on collaborators in major tasks of this kind—often do not seem to know what they are trying to say or what they are trying to do. An example is the passage developing that old chestnut about achieving in peace the same "full utilization of our physical and human resources" we are supposed to have reached —and did approximate—during the war. "To accomplish this," the message hastens to add, "it is not intended that the federal government should do things that can be done as well for the nation by private enterprise, or by state and local governments. On the contrary, the war has demonstrated how effectively we can organize our productive system and develop the potential abilities of our people by aiding the efforts of private enterprise." The first sentence of the quotation begs the question; the second is a non sequitur; the point—if any—is lost in the final phrase. Industry was not mobilized for war merely by "aiding the efforts of private enterprise" but by directing those efforts and subordinating them to an over-all program. The men who wrote that passage were afraid to see the point.

This fear of coming to the point, either in thought or action, is characteristic of the Truman Administration. It stands up dutifully to be counted among the supporters of the post-war program outlined by President Roosevelt. It faithfully repeats the New Deal formulas. But it gives little indication of really understanding them or of readiness to fight for them. William H. Davis must have found it sourly amusing to read the passage in which the President told Congress, "If we manage our economy properly, the future will see us on a level of production half again as high as we have ever accomplished in peace time. Business can in the future pay higher wages and sell for lower prices. . . ." Mr. Truman summarily dismissed Davis as Director of Economic Stabilization last September for making substantially the same statement. The present White House crowd talks the New Deal language, but as though it were a foreign tongue imperfectly understood. Thus Mr. Truman as Senator and President has often dwelt—as he did again in this latest message—on the need for a higher level of wages after the war to make possible a higher level of economic activity. Some strikes are unavoidable in reaching this objective. Yet at his press conference today Mr. Truman described the steel strike as if it were merely a struggle for power between labor and management, in which the public's sole interest was to curb both sides. One feels, perhaps unjustly, that Mr. Truman sometimes fails fully to grasp the implications of his own stated policies.

This failure seems to be more than intellectual. One often wonders whether Mr. Truman is in full sympathy with some of the measures that have his formal support. He has come out for the FEPC again and again, but the manner has been that of a candidate supplying a necessary indorsement. He has never really explained the basic issues. He had a chance at press conference today when he was asked whether, from his experience as a Senator, he cared to comment on the filibuster against the FEPC. Mr. Truman said that as a Senator he had always been against filibusters and for cloture, but that this was a question the Senate would have to decide without out-

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side interference. Since he has asked the Senate for a permanent FEPC, it seems rather late to take a hands-off attitude toward the filibuster. He might have ducked the cloture issue but supported the FEPC forces by telling the press and the country how important the fight for the FEPC is. Or doesn't the President think so? His sudden apparent loss of interest at the press conference seemed to cut the ground from under his Senate majority leader. Barkley's outspoken statement this afternoon in what appears to be a lost battle took great courage. No one would deny that the President has also been courageous on this issue, but he does not follow through.

A growing inconsistency between word and deed is apparent in all the Administration does. Mr. Truman's latest message calls for "major steps . . . to maintain enforcement of anti-trust laws," but Tom Clark, the big Texas glad-hander he picked as Attorney General, has about as much interest in the Sherman act as I have in canon law. The Anti-Trust Division, once one of the most ably manned agencies in Washington, has been losing some of its best men. It will lose more on the heels of today's announcement by Clark that the FBI will handle anti-trust investigations in the future and the Anti-Trust Division will do "the courthouse work." If there are any Communists violating the anti-trust laws, J. Edgar Hoover will get them. Mr. Truman's anti-monopoly strictures also make odd reading in the light of two other appointments. J. Stuart Symington, who was doing a good job as Surplus Property Administrator, has been named Assistant Secretary of War for Air to succeed Robert A. Lovett. (The latter, a New York banker, deserves the highest commendation for his able and devoted work during the war in that post.) Surplus Property will now be dominated completely by the RFC, and George E. Allen has been made head of that agency. Allen's New York financial connections with Victor Emanuel, the Schröder bank protégé, ought to be fully examined in the Senate before he is confirmed. The other appointment that calls for scrutiny is that of Edwin W. Pauley, the California oil man and Standard Oil political ally who has been named Under Secretary of the Navy. The navy has a lot to say about oil; the RFC controls war plants that are crucial in the fight against monopoly. How to judge Mr. Truman's position? By the words of the message? Or by the appointments?

Mr. Truman's difficulties are enormous, but they are increased by the mediocrities he prefers to have about him and by his own lack of decision. He must go down the New Deal line to win the Congressional elections, but he must overcome the opposition of the Southern Democrats to put a New Deal program through Congress. He must bring the strike wave to an end with major wage concessions for workers but without letting inflationary forces get out of hand; this means a minimum of price concessions. Steel is the key to the labor situation; here he has been well-meaning but inept, and lacking in that last ounce of courage which would make United States Steel back down. Housing offers his greatest immediate opportunity for dramatic leadership; here he has shown neither nerve nor imagination. His recent radio appeal to the country against Congress failed; there is no one in the White House crowd who can dramatize an issue. The President's verbose and flaccid message is as confusing as the White House crowd is confused. The country needs to be electrified, not bored.

This Is Why They Strike

BY EDWARD JONES

The pseudonym of an economist who has made a special study of steel wages

Pittsburgh, January 24

A YEAR ago, in Braddock, Pennsylvania, where the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation has its Edgar Thomson Works, the average steel worker earned $50.85 for working 47.5 hours a week.

After taxes were taken out, he had $45.92 left. He lived in a dingy, soot-covered house, often near the railroad tracks or next to the mill, paying $32.50 a month for rent, heat, and utilities.

His wife spent 45 per cent of the family income on food. One might think from this that Braddock steel workers indulged themselves by catering to a cultivated palate, but in point of fact the money they spent on food averaged a little more than 30 cents a meal per person. If you don't know what that means, ask your wife.

At about the time that a survey by the United Steelworkers of America was gathering these statistics, the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics of the University of California figured out the minimum budget on which a family of four could live in health and decency. It came to $59.15 before taxes. The steel worker's pay was $8.30 short of this minimum. But with an average of $10 a week more coming in from a second worker in the family or from a boarder or renter, he was able to make ends meet and to save a little. The typical steel worker's family had saved about $600 during the war—$300 in cash for a rainy day and $300 in war bonds.

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Then came V-J Day, and the industry began to cut back sharply to a forty-hour schedule. Working forty hours, our average Braddock steel worker makes about $39.20. However, when forty hours are scheduled, something less than that is actually worked, because of such factors as illness and production changes. It is a fair estimate to say that our average worker receives slightly less than $39 a week.

In the past few months the average steel worker has not earned enough to cover his expenses. He has therefore been drawing on the money he has in the bank or cashing his bonds. He saw that it was only a matter of a few months before his savings would be exhausted and his family would face the plain necessity of a lowered standard of living.

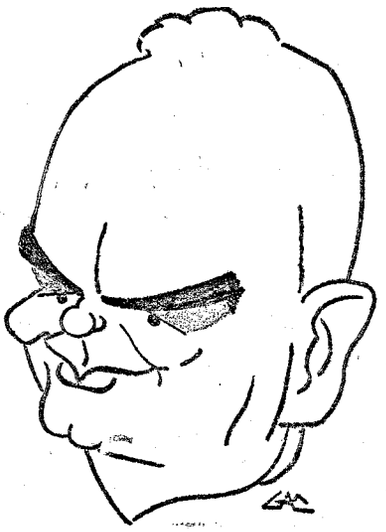
Those who are worried about the effect of too much loose money floating around the country should understand that the Steelworkers' demand for an increase in pay, originally of $2 a day and now of 18.5 cents an hour, is calculated to prevent, even if only in part, a reduction in purchasing power and a threatened depression of living standards.

Their claims are presented to an industry that faces a very rosy future. It can be sure that for the next two years the demand for its products will outstrip the supply. The demand from the automobile industry alone is said to represent a two-year backlog. Run down the list of other big steel consumers—building construction, oil equipment, railroads, refrigerators, washing machines; they will all be hungry for steel for at least eighteen months, more probably for twenty-four.

The economics of steel are dominated by the fact that equipment is so large a part of unit cost. A high rate of production means, therefore, not only more tons sold but much lower cost per ton. In pre-war years prices were fixed to allow a company to break even when operating at from 50 to 60 per cent of capacity. In the years 1935 to 1939, when the industry operated at 59 per cent of capacity, it made a profit, after taxes, of $115,000,000. When production reaches 90 per cent or higher, profits become tremendous.

While war-time tax rates were as high as 85 per cent, taxes in 1946 will be no more than 38 per cent. Most of the companies in the industry, if they sought merely to preserve 1944-45 profits, after taxes, could more than pay the additional 18.5 cents an hour out of this decrease in taxes. The elimination of premium payments for overtime will save the industry 8 to 9 cents an hour. A further saving can be expected from the downgrading that will probably take place in a looser labor market. The union estimates that this will amount to 5 cents an hour.

Productivity will take a spurt in 1946. Normal technological development has been vigorously accelerated by war-time needs. Steel-ingot capacity has been increased by 18.8 per cent. While a part of this expansion will not be useful in peace time—for example, not all the increased capacity for electric-furnace alloy steel will be needed—most of it will be employed in replacing obsolete equipment. Progress that might normally have taken ten years has been accomplished in five.



Philip Murray

A battery of open-hearth furnaces was built by the Defense Plant Corporation for the Homestead Works of Carnegie-Illinois. They produce 26 per cent more tonnage per man-hour. There is no reconversion problem here. These new furnaces will simply push out the old.

Many if not all of the companies face the future with the entire cost of this new equipment already written off. The government permitted war-emergency facilities to be written off in five years, or by the end of the war—which was declared, for this purpose, in September, 1945. This means that the companies charged an extremely high rate of amortization in high-tax years and now face a future of relatively low taxes with income that would normally be spent for amortization freed for profits.

Philip Murray has called attention to the action of Bethlehem Steel in writing off $44,000,000 in amortization in the third quarter of 1945. This converted a profit of $23,000,000 into a loss. Because it showed a loss, Bethlehem got a tax refund of $35,000,000.

It is reasonable to assume that with profits and taxes higher in war than in peace, the steel companies have been very liberal in earmarking income for depreciation and depletion. How liberal, it is difficult to say, but the leeway is undeniable. If future years prove leaner, it will be possible to reduce allocations to these accounts, leaving a larger share of current profits for stockholders. Furthermore, the carry-back refund provision of the 1945 revenue act functions to cushion the companies against any operating losses or failure to reach normal profits in 1946.

Factors which have restrained the productivity of the industry during the war will be rapidly removed. The forty-hour week and the return of veterans will mean a more efficient and vigorous working force. But wealth and assurance of continued demand also mean tremendous bargaining power—the ability to sit tight until terms can be won. When 700,000 steel workers "hit the bricks" at 12:01 a. m., Monday, January 21, they settled down for a contest of endurance.

"Quiet" and "grim" are the words to describe this

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strike. Reporters looking for the violent drama that the public expects in a steel strike have been disappointed. The glare of Bessemers and the yellow-orange smoke of steel have disappeared from the Pittsburgh sky. Picketing has boomed the sale of heavy underwear. Bars are empty; the money often spent there is needed for food.

The men don't know how long they will be out and they are not harboring any illusions. As one of them put it, "If we've got to, we'll stay out until Fairless freezes over."

The Sun Shines in Pittsburgh

BY KING GORDON

Pittsburgh, January 22

TODAY the sun shone brightly in Pittsburgh. People said they had not seen it shine so brightly for years. The quaint Gothic gingerbread on Andy Mellon's bank stood out sharply against a blue sky.

Because there was no smoke.

The thermometer registered five above.

You didn't hear much about the strike—not away from the United Steelworkers' headquarters in the Commonwealth Building. The cigar-stand man in the Pittsburgher argued that the company had a right to all the profits it could make, that it was none of the union's business what they made, and that Phil Murray had a pretty swell job and he was making the most of it. But the proverbial oracular taxicab driver said that most of Pittsburgh's sympathy was on the side of the men, and how did anyone think you could keep up purchasing power and have full employment unless wages were upped.

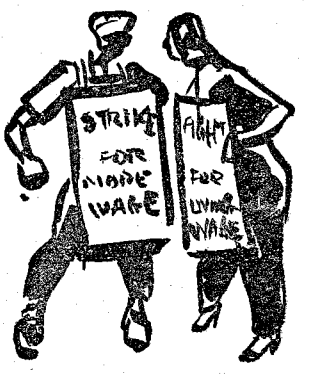
On the fifteenth floor of the Commonwealth Building things were busy but without confusion. Phil Murray had an unhurried word for the visting fireman before he went into policy conference. *PM* was shooting pictures of the top chiefs of strategy. News reporters from out-of-town papers were passing the time of day. Telephone calls were coming in constantly from this district and that.

There was not much excitement. Because the excitement—the big excitement—was past. The strike was here. The strike that they had seen coming for months, even years, ever since it became apparent that United States Steel and the big boys of the Iron and Steel Institute were not going to talk terms.

You had a feeling that the steel workers were settling down to a long, hard siege. And that they were ready for it.

We drove out to Homestead along the Monongahela, stopping a couple of times to talk to pickets walking in a circle before the shut gates of plants or warming themselves over a coal fire in an empty oil drum. ("These boys know how to make fires that burn hot," one of the officers said to me. "It's their business.") But even with the fires it was cold work.

Gray-haired, scholarly Chuck Ford, chairman of District 15 at Homestead, told us the system they had worked out. "Everybody does a shift on the picket line. And it adds up to just four hours a week. We send out cards telling them what shift to report to. It's the fairest way. And it's good for morale." While we were talking to him a member phoned in to say that the date given him was not convenient; he didn't want to get out of his turn, but could he be given another hour? Chuck referred him to the local that was handling the pickets for the three gates of the big Carnegie-Illinois plant.



Chuck described the meeting up at Duquesne last Sunday night just before the strike began. "Duquesne has the reputation of being a tough town, and in the past there has been plenty of trouble. But on Sunday there was a meeting of seven hundred in the high school with about a thousand outside listening to loudspeakers. One of the burgesses spoke; one or two of the local business men. The reason for the strike was explained by the union officers. It was a quiet, serious meeting. No noise. No attacking the company. After the meeting those who had been assigned took up their posts on the picket line. One of the newsmen who were there said it was about the finest meeting he had ever attended. He said, 'There was something very American about it.' "

In 1937 things were not so quiet. The company was out then to smash a young union which had not been put to any test. It used every device to intimidate strikers, entice in scabs, break morale. Armed guards swarmed round the gates. Inside the plant signs of great activity were kept up—tar paper was burnt in the furnaces, hammers crashed, yard engines shunted up and down.

But now it was different. The union was strong, disciplined, recognized. I saw no sign of guards. And it was merely a token picket line that walked slowly around at the gates.

We went across the street to the union hall. The president of the local was Frank Casper, a die-maker in the big plant. (Only one of the officers was a full-time union official: the rest were active steel workers.) He was

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dark-faced, young, serious, authoritative. Here the pickets were being appointed. Half a dozen girls lent from the clerical workers' union were busy at desks. Pickets came and went. Hot soup was there for those who had got chilled in the bitter cold.

One of the officers came up with a slip of paper with special picketing assignments for the following week, honorary assignments of two hours each.

Thursday—all women
Friday—all vets, World War I and II
Saturday—all Negro
Sunday—volunteer firemen
Monday—all merchants
Tuesday—political figures
Wednesday—all clergy

"Will they all come?" I asked.

"Well, they've all been invited. The town is pretty solidly behind us."

We drove back past the long black buildings, the high smokestacks with no smoke coming out, past the picket lines at the Amity Street gate. One of the steel workers with us said: "Take a look at that; we put it up in 1938. Big ceremony with all the officials of the town taking part."

It was a monument to the steel workers who had been killed in the Homestead strike of 1892.

Korea's Heritage

BY ANDREW ROTH

Author of "Dilemma in Japan"

WHEN Lieutenant General Hodge, commander of the American occupation forces in Korea, asserted that the Koreans were "the same breed of cat as the Japanese," he must have been thinking of the declassed Korean *ronin,* or gangsters, used by the Japanese army for much of its dirtiest work. He could not have been conscious of the valiant struggle which Koreans have waged for almost forty years against the grinding exploitation of their country by the Japanese.

Japanese rule in Korea makes Western imperialism seem paternal in comparison. Although Korea is far more richly endowed with mineral resources, water-power, and fertile rice land than Japan, the Korean living standard has been depressed to about one-fourth of the incredibly low Japanese standard. At the time of liberation ten *Zaibatsu* concerns controlled 85 per cent of all Korean industrial capital; only a few industrial crumbs remained in Korean hands. Four-fifths of the land was also owned by absentee Japanese landlords, and rent and taxes were so high that, by Japanese admission, hundreds of thousands of Korean farmers were reduced every spring to collecting bark and roots for food.

Political oppression kept pace with economic exploitation; no opportunity was missed to crush all forms of independent thought and action and to convert Koreans into obedient and docile servants of their conquerors. Important posts were monopolized by the Japanese, and all persons suspected of harboring "dangerous thoughts" were hunted down. All teaching was done in Japanese, and few pupils advanced beyond the primary grades; only one out of twenty-five Koreans reached high school. At Keijo University 63 per cent of the students were Japanese.

But despite their abject poverty and almost complete isolation from the rest of the world, Koreans have never ceased to resist. Japan became the "protector" of Korea in 1905 after defeating its Russian competitor and receiving the go-ahead signal from Britain and the United States. The first anti-Japanese insurrection broke out the next year; riots and demonstrations continued, and countless Koreans were imprisoned or killed.

In 1910 the Japanese marched in troops and stepped up their control to outright annexation. About five thousand men of the Korean army, led by its commander General Li Tung-hui, a graduate of the Tokyo Imperial Military Academy, retreated first to the hills and then across the Yalu River into Manchuria. There they based themselves upon the hundreds of thousands of Korean farmers who had emigrated to avoid Japanese control. Raiding parties crossed the border to Korea and ambushed Japanese troops in incessant guerrilla warfare. At one point the Japanese were so enraged by these attacks that they sent two divisions of troops into the Chientao region of Manchuria and slaughtered an entire settlement of four thousand Koreans.

For a few brief days in March, 1919, Korean resistance took on a different character. A group of Christian leaders, inspired by a naive faith in the fifth of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, issued an American-style Declaration of Independence. American-educated pacifists convinced the populace that President Wilson and the powers at Versailles would listen to their plea for freedom. Two million people paraded peacefully through the streets chanting "*Mansei! Mansei!*" (Korean equivalent of *Banzai*).

The Japanese replied to these peaceful demonstrations with medieval violence. Some six thousand Koreans were killed, tens of thousands flogged, and scores of

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thousands arrested. At least one Christian leader was crucified; in one village a church was burned, and the people were shot as they ran out. As a result, resistance was driven underground, and the nationalists were forced to move their base of activity abroad.

SPLIT IN THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

In the fall of 1919 three thousand Korean exiles gathered at Shanghai from all over the world. They elected a parliament and established a Provisional Government with Rhee Syng-man as President General, Li Tung-hui as Premier, and Lyuh Woon-heung as Foreign Minister. (Rhee and Lyuh are now the leaders of the chief contending factions.) This government in exile operated its own press and ran a military school, smuggling the literature and the cadets back into the homeland.

The Provisional Government was split along lines which have persisted to this day. An "American" faction, then in the majority, consisted largely of middle-class intellectuals who had fled to America when Japan took over in 1910 and had received their professional training and politico-economic outlook in this country. They were Christian moderates who believed they could persuade the United States government to intervene in behalf of Korea's freedom. Dr. Rhee, the Provisional President, had been a schoolmate of President Wilson's and retained complete faith in him.

Their opponents scoffed, declaring that only open warfare, not diplomatic maneuvering, could drive the Japanese from Korean soil. They were known as the "Siberia-Manchuria" group because Korean settlers in those areas were the strongest supporters of this view. The million Korean farmers in Manchuria had been providing aid to guerrilla bands for a decade, and the 800,000 Korean settlers in Siberia were playing an important role in defeating Japanese intervention. They formed a considerable portion of the sparse population of Siberia and fought with particular vigor because of their long-standing grudge against Japan. This group was more radical in its economic views and tended to think of the Soviet Union as the main anti-Japanese factor in the Far East.

At first the conservative "American" group had more weight, but after 1924 nationalist recruits swarmed to the left, the earthquake of 1923 starting an exodus of radical Korean students from Japan. Most Koreans in Japan were either factory workers or students. Many of the students were very poor and even more susceptible than their Japanese schoolmates to the radical ideas which at that time were causing the police so much concern.

The police reacted to their fears in a particularly brutal way. Japan was in the throes of an economic crisis, and after the earthquake the authorities feared there would be even more widespread disturbances than the deep-rumbling "rice riots" of 1918. To divert the attention of the people the Tokyo police chief broadcast a warning that Korean anarchists were burning, stealing, and murdering, and called upon the Japanese to "use all necessary measures" to defend themselves. At the same time squads of thugs organized by the police and by jingoist societies maimed and killed Koreans in the most brutal fashion. Young girls were tortured with bamboo spikes and then tossed up and down on blankets until they died. In Tokyo Koreans were requested to assemble at military headquarters for their own protection, and the 800 who complied were all slaughtered. About a thousand students and several times that number of workers were killed in this pogrom.

RELATIONS WITH CHINA

Many of the Korean students who left Japan at this time, as well as other militant nationalists, were drawn as if by a magnet to Canton, where the Chinese nationalist revolution was in preparation. They felt that a success for Chinese nationalism—then based on a Kuomintang-Communist alliance receiving Soviet advice and support—would be a setback to Japan and the other imperial nations that were keeping China in a semi-colonial servitude. Koreans expected that the great "northern expedition" which was to free China of imperialists and war lords would march on and free Korea of the Japanese. Consequently they served enthusiastically as propagandists, military instructors, and soldiers in the nationalist army. When Chiang Kai-shek purged the left in 1927, casualties were high among the Korean volunteers. The crippling of the Chinese nationalist revolution spread gloom in Korean circles throughout the world.

Within Korea the Japanese increased their police force to curb militant nationalists and at the same time tried to wean the middle and upper classes away from the movement. Well-to-do Koreans were encouraged to start small factories. Publication of a Korean-owned newspaper, the *Oriental Daily News,* was permitted. Left nationalists and Communists managed to lay the groundwork for labor, youth, and peasant groups. In 1924 a General Union of Korean Workers and Farmers was organized, and although its meetings were immediately forbidden it established secret branches throughout the country. In 1925 a Communist Party was formed, composed almost entirely of intellectuals who naively made themselves conspicuous by wearing their hair long, sporting red ties, and keeping their shoes studiously unpolished in order to appear proletarian. This bohemian period was brought to a rude end in 1928 when the Japanese police crippled the party by arresting a thousand members and sympathizers.

The Korean scene remained explosive, and in the winter of 1929-30 a Japanese student in Korea provided a spark when he made an insulting offer to a Korean schoolgirl in public. This touched off denunciations, parades, and clashes between Korean and Japanese stu-

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dents. The disturbances reached a climax in a nation-wide strike, which was suppressed with the special brutality the Japanese reserved for Koreans and Japanese radicals.

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war demonstrated anew how closely the Korean situation was related to conditions in China. The Japanese conquest of Manchuria was a serious blow because it brought the Korean immigrants there under direct Japanese control. But when China began to fight in 1937 Korean resistance was stimulated. A Korean volunteer brigade of several hundred men was formed in central China under Kim Yak-san, Korea's most famous terrorist. In Manchuria about ten thousand Korean troops and fifty thousand partisans fought alongside the Chinese guerrillas under the command of Wu Seng-nun, a former terrorist who had once made an attempt on the life of General Tanaka. Another two thousand Koreans fought in the areas controlled by the Chinese Communists, and one of their number, Wu Ting, served as chief of staff to General P'eng Teh-huai, vice-commander of the Eighth Route Army. At the same time the Japanese, by their own admission, had 30,000 partisans to contend with in Korea. All these groups—left-wing nationalists, terrorists, anarchists, Communists—were loosely linked in a united front.

Drawing by Bernard Golden

The Chinese government used the multi-lingual Koreans as translators, intelligence operatives, and propagandists but feared the contagion of their radical notions. It was to check the leftist Koreans that Chungking, in 1940, resuscitated the Provisional Government, with the aged Kim Koo as President and the seventy-eight-year-old Dr. Rhee as Washington representative, and sponsored a Korean-independence army of a few thousand men. This government represented the remnants of the "American" faction, which had grown increasingly conservative and was antagonistic to the leftist leaders of the Koreans fighting the Japanese in northern China and Korea. In Washington Dr. Rhee sought to achieve recognition for his group by proclaiming the need for a bulwark against communism. In Chungking the Provisional Government came increasingly under the influence of the most reactionary circles—such as the "CC" and "Whampoa" cliques—upon which it depended for financial and political support. Some left nationalists who had hoped that the Provisional Government could be broadened to include all elements found conditions in Chungking intolerable and made their way north to Yenan, where they joined the Korean People's Emancipation League.

WORLD WAR II CHANGES THE PICTURE

As the tide of war turned against the Japanese, they tried to make up for the depletion of their resources by squeezing rice, man-power, and revenue out of Korea. The Japanese-sponsored Korean People's Mobilization League acted as an instrument for extracting "voluntary" contributions and for making certain that farmers did not hide their produce from the authorities. In the last year of the war more than 500,000 Koreans under twenty were conscripted for military service or for labor in Japanese industries. All men between twenty and thirty were forced into Korean factories, and tens of thousands of women and students were forced to work without pay on railways and airdromes.

The Koreans reacted with more determined resistance. Thousands of youths fled to the mountains and engaged in guerrilla warfare. One band of about 15,000 men, led by Kin Jin-hsing, succeeded in establishing contact with the Chinese Eighth Route Army. Repeated uprisings against conscription and military training were brutally crushed by the police. Workers in armament factories organized sabotage groups, some of which the Japanese discovered and smashed. Korean soldiers deserted, farmers refused to harvest crops, and thousands of persons were arrested for listening to foreign broadcasts or refusing to worship the Emperor.

Tribute to the strength of Korean resistance was paid in April, 1945, when Emperor Hirohito "graciously granted" Korea the right to representation in the Imperial Diet. All Koreans recognized this as a sign of weakness and redoubled their efforts. By the end of the war more than half a million persons were participating in illegal activities as members of peasant and labor unions, student groups, and political parties. The fires of nationalism, stoked by forty years of oppression, had brought the country close to the boiling point. Into this seething caldron the competing Russian and American armies of liberation have thrown their vastly differing potions.

[*This is the first of two articles on Korea by Mr. Roth.*]

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Arabia Britannica

BY RUFUS BAXTER

An old contributor of articles to The Nation *from the Near East*

Cairo, January 18

TWO apparently unrelated events seem to observers in this part of the world to fit neatly into a pattern of Near East politics which week by week takes on more coherent form. These events are the visit to King Farouk of King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, absolute ruler of Saudi Arabia, and Great Britain's declaration of Transjordan independence. Both are taken as steps in the consolidation of Arab unity under British sponsorship, a process which has been greatly accelerated since the end of the war for reasons I shall try to explain. The recent meeting of the Arab League here in Cairo expressed in rhetorical form the grandiose plans and dreams of the Arab politicians, but more solid gains are likely to emerge from the talks going on between Farouk and his advisers and Ibn Saud and his numerous sons and retainers; moreover, the termination of the British mandate over Transjordan not only brings an additional Arab state into the councils of the United Nations but increases the prestige of the League. One can be sure Britain made its decision with these facts in mind.

The notion of Arab unity, old as Islam itself, is largely animated by religious zeal. It was Mohammed who gave to all Arabs and Moslems on earth one God and one fatherland—the Islamic Omma. The greatest of the Arab historians, Ibn Khaldoun, wrote in the fifteenth century that the Arabs were incapable of founding an empire without the inspiration of religious enthusiasm. The heritage of the Caliphates gives the Arabs what the heritage of the Roman Empire gave medieval Europeans—a haunting though frustrated urge toward unity. More than once, long after the disintegration of Arab civilization became complete under the Ottoman Turks, the Arabs were seized by this obsession. The massacre of 3,000 Christians in Damascus in 1860 was a manifestation of it. A famous Moslem tract circulated at that time said in part: "We recall to you the words of the Most High: 'Make no differentiation between the infidel nations, for we have thrown enmity and discord into their midst until the day of the last judgment.' Moslem nation, awake! Awake to destroy the race of the servants of the Cross, in this country which they have defiled." Although certainly the sincere Arab nationalists of today nourish no such dire intentions, recent events in Cairo, Alexandria, Aleppo, and Tripoli come as an evil echo of those of 1860, and it is disquieting to notice that among the most ardent adherents of the cause in Egypt are members of the fanatical Moslem Brotherhood and the Youth of Mohammed.

The pan-Arab movement in its modern, political dress goes back to World War I, to McMahon and Lawrence, to the Sykes-Picot agreement. The McMahon letter to the Sherif Hussein of Mecca in 1915 gave assurances that Great Britain was "prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs in all the regions demanded by the Sherif of Mecca," excluding the two districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo.* In return, Hussein was to throw in his lot with the Allies against Germany.

The Sykes-Picot agreement (May, 1916) provided, among other things, that Great Britain and France would "recognize and protect an independent Arab state, or a confederation of Arab states." What actually happened after the war fell somewhat short of Hussein's expectations. True, one of his sons, Feisal, was encouraged by the British to establish himself in Syria, and when the French, who had been given a mandate for Syria, drove him out, he was invested with nearly royal prerogatives in British-mandated Iraq. Another son, Abdullah, became and is still titular ruler of British-mandated Transjordan. But Palestine was opened to Jewish colonization under guaranties provided in the Balfour Declaration and confirmed in the mandate, while down in the Hejaz itself Hussein fared very badly. In 1924, when the Turkish National Assembly abolished the Caliphate there, Hussein laid claim to the title. Thereupon he was attacked by Ibn Saud and forced to abdicate. Ibn Saud was declared king in 1926. Egypt, not considering itself or being considered an Arab state at all, was under a formal British protectorate until 1922, becoming more or less independent in 1936—less rather than more. So the years passed, and the dream of Arab unity remained unfulfilled.

It was revived in 1941 when Anthony Eden announced in the House of Commons that the British government would support a plan for unity among the Arab states. A gesture of this sort was no doubt wise at the moment, for Britain's prestige was at a low ebb in the Middle East, with Germany threatening the Allied position from the west and north.

* Sir Henry McMahon, however, said in a letter to the London *Times* in 1937: "I feel it my duty to state, and do so definitely and emphatically, that it was not intended by me in giving this pledge to King Hussein to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised."

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EGYPT THE FULCRUM

The following winter events occurred in Egypt which made that country the fulcrum of the new pan-Arab movement. Considerations of political and military security induced the British authorities in Egypt to force on King Farouk a government of their choosing. The operation was carried out rather unceremoniously. In February, 1942, the Abdin royal palace was surrounded by tanks, and elsewhere in Cairo the alerted British army occupied strategic points. A tank forced the palace gate and was followed by a car in which rode the British Ambassador, Sir Miles Lampson, now Lord Killearn, and the commanding general. Lampson informed Farouk, by that time a prisoner in his own palace, that he must ask Mustapha Nahas Pasha, leader of the nationalistic Wafd Party, to form a Cabinet, or face the consequences. Farouk, humiliated but helpless, acquiesced.

The maneuver was an astute one, for the key to Egyptian politics is the perennial struggle for power between the Palace and the Wafd. The Wafd is *the* major party; its unquestioned leader is Nahas Pasha. By imposing Nahas on the King, the British brought in a government sure to be popular, at least for a while, and at the same time relatively pro-Ally and docile.

In 1943 Nahas began to promote Arab unity under the sponsorship of Egypt. Whether the initiative was his or not, I do not know. Certainly his Cabinet, as was expected, was quite incapable of coping adequately with the country's desperate internal problems, and Nahas may have wanted to bolster his position with an easy diplomatic success. The King, of course, was at every moment watching for an excuse to get rid of him. In any case the Egyptian government's pan-Arab policy, if not actually suggested by the British, was enthusiastically seconded by them, and they kept Nahas in power long enough to see it through.

In January, 1943, Mr. Eden repeated his assertion that the British government would view with sympathy any movement among the Arabs aiming at economic, cultural, or political union, adding, however, that none was yet in sight. He was not kept waiting long. Nahas called a series of conferences in the course of which the Prime Ministers of Iraq, Syria, Transjordan, and the Lebanon visited Egypt. These conferences led to the conclusion of a protocol which provided for the creation of an Arab League. The pact was finally signed on October 7, 1944. By that time, Saudi Arabia, most important and most independent of the Arab states, had come into the fold, followed shortly by the Yemen.

The pact is couched in magnificent rhetoric, but a wide gulf separates word and deed. Although the member states pledge common action on such matters as customs, commercial and financial arrangements, communications, intellectual cooperation, nationality and extradition laws, and social and sanitary improvements, the Arab League is essentially a political instrument. First of all, it relegates to the position of followers Egypt's potential rivals for leadership—Iraq with its long-cherished Greater Syria plan (also espoused by the other Hashimite appanage, Transjordan) and Saudi Arabia with its holy cities. Secondly, it flatters the Arab world with illusions of world power. Already Arab leaders speak sometimes in the name of 40,000,000 Arabs, sometimes in the name of 300,000,000 Moslems from Morocco to India. Thirdly—and this is the heart of the matter—it facilitates Britain's effort to reorganize the Middle East into a cohesive bloc.

THE LEAGUE'S STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS

Britain's interest in the Middle East was never greater than now, and rarely since the time of Napoleon has its position here been so exposed. These considerations have led it rather grudgingly to yield a part of its economic hegemony to the United States, in the hope that from now on the interests of the two countries will be so closely associated throughout the area that they must defend it together. The same considerations led the British to plug for Arab unity more consistently than hitherto. Great Britain will very likely try to enlarge the Arab League to embrace the Sudan and the Persian Gulf principalities—Muscat and Oman, Kuweit, Bahrein, Qatar, and various sheikdoms—which, though insignificant in themselves, account for a million or so Arabs living in a region vital to Empire communications and oil reserves. Meanwhile the League has claimed the trusteeship of Arab Libya and strongly hinted that it cannot ignore the "appeals" from the Arabs living in French North Africa. Skilfully handled, the Arab League can be a potent instrument.

But its weaknesses, too, are great. First of all, most of the minorities in the region are wary of it if not actually opposed to it. The Lebanese Christians in particular will become less accommodating if the Moslem angle is too strongly emphasized or if the efforts of Iraq and Transjordan for the creation of a Greater Syria show signs of success; this is unlikely at the moment because of the opposition of Egypt and of Ibn Saud as head of a rival ruling house*. Then, too, 9,000,000 Kurds have national aspirations of their own that run head on against the interests of at least two Arab states. And most Jews, Armenians, and Turcomans are unsympathetic. Palestine, of course, is the chief stumbling-block; there the British will continue if possible to steer a middle course between Arab and Jewish demands and try to induce the United States to accept coresponsibility for finding some sort of solution.

The league's low economic and military potential is another major source of weakness. The Arab states are straining their meager budgets to keep an aggregate of perhaps 100,000 badly equipped, ill-trained, and totally

* It has been hinted in the press that a reconciliation between Ibn Saud and the Hashimites may have been brought about by Farouk during the Arab king's visit to Cairo.

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untried troops under arms. As far as I know, not a single Arab country is equipped to manufacture a rifle, much less a tank or an airplane. All of them are handicapped either by a primitive tribal society or else by appalling poverty, disease, illiteracy, and exploitation; some by both. If the Arab League hopes to have any substantial weight in world councils, it will either have to play one power off against another or become an appendage of a single first-class military power. The latter course is the only one possible at the moment, and the military power in question is Great Britain.

TOOL OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The Arabs kid themselves along with pomp and oratory, but the British are in deadly earnest. Their policy, conditioned by the exigencies of empire, is lucid and coherent—except in Syria, where they went perhaps a little too far; it is unaffected by changes of government in London. The Arab League can become an admirable tool for furthering British imperial interests. Already a Middle East Office has been set up at Whitehall to facilitate relations with the Arab states. It is unlikely that this agency and the Arab League will work at cross purposes, for their aims, if not precisely the same, are complementary. Collaboration will help consolidate Britain's position against antagonistic forces from outside the area or within it. American economic and Russian political penetration can be countered with greater ease. (France has already been reduced to a negligible quantity.) From the economic point of view, particularly as long as the sterling-area controls can be maintained, the Middle East will be more effectively integrated into the general Empire scheme. Moreover, the Arab League is not an association of peoples but of notables, men who can be counted upon to use their augmented power to prevent social changes detrimental to their own and to Britain's interests. Semi-feudal land tenure is a bulwark against industrialization and economic expansion, which would challenge the British position. Even if the peoples of the Middle East cannot be kept forever in a state close to serfdom, progress can be slowed down. For this purpose Arab-Jewish understanding must be frustrated at all costs, for the Zionists incarnate the menace of social change. Since an Arab-Jewish entente is a specter which frightens the Arab leaders as much as it does the British, the League can be counted upon to fight it.

The moment any part of the Middle East is in a position to say: Here we have a modern, functioning economy that can stand on its own feet; here we have a peaceful, disciplined population, strong enough to command the respect of our neighbors; here we no longer need, or want, your tutelage—at that moment the British will be forced to choose between evacuation or conquest. Palestine represents that danger. Only the Arab-Jewish controversy will, in the future, justify continued British occupation. The Zionists have harmed their cause by emphasizing integral nationalism. None the less, they have created a modern state, however minute, and in many localities have made Arab-Jewish cooperation a fact. The conflict of interest and of ideology between them and the British can only grow worse in the days ahead—especially since the Jews are the only people to have any appreciable access to dollar credits. If the Palestinian Jews take to the *maquis*, as they are beginning to do, it will be against the British, not against the Arabs. But the Arab League will be on hand to give the conflict the appearance of one between Jews and Arabs, just as a few months ago it served as a cover for the British ouster of the French in Syria.

In the Wind

WITHOUT WISHING TO ALARM you unduly, we nevertheless think you ought to know about this frightening statement that was made at the New England Sales Management Conference in Boston last month. "Salesmen as a group," said one of the speakers, "will have more effect upon the permanence of peace than all diplomats, more effect on wages and prices than all negotiators."

DURING THE WAR, according to the British Information Service, a special military operation was set up to guard the personal safety of Prime Minister Churchill. The code designation for the project was "Operation Elephant."

AN EVEN DOZEN JAPANESE PRINCES will be unemployed as a result of occupation directives banning militarists from public office. The United Press quotes the Jiji News Agency as saying that as a result "one of Japan's prime social problems now would be providing jobs for the purged princes."

FORMER ASSOCIATES of the fabulous Jack and Heinz plant are being blacklisted by Cleveland employers, *Business Week* reports. "The kind of profit sharing to which they are devoted converts," explains the magazine, "is more distasteful than almost any color of union philosophy to employers."

CASTLE MOUNTAIN, a Canadian peak near Banff, Alberta, has been renamed Mount Eisenhower.

WHEN HEARST'S SEATTLE *Post-Intelligencer* resumed publication in mid-January after a 56-day strike, its readers were treated to a 134-page Sunday edition. It featured 62 pages of comics, including a 12-page summary of the strike-interrupted daily comics; 36 pages of American Weekly; and 3 pages of pictures. The editors also managed to squeeze in 33 pages of news.

DIOGENES, BLOW OUT YOUR LANTERN; your search has ended. The following classified ad appeared in the Portland *Oregonian* of January 9: "Veteran of World War II wants a position with good pay. Likes horses, dogs, and attractive women. Lazy and incompetent."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Budgetary Planning

THE President's mammoth combined state-of-the-union and budget message presumably represents a cooperative effort by a number of his advisers. Unfortunately, nobody seems to have thought of calling in a good editor to cut out the repetitions, suppress the clichés, and generally organize it into a cohesive whole. As a result, only the most conscientious citizen is likely to brave its formidable manner for the sake of its matter.

That is too bad, for buried in the turgid mass there is a lot of sound economic sense. Mr. Truman is not nearly so forceful a character as his predecessor, but his steadfast adherence to the main principles of the New Deal shows that he has a share of the same sort of tenacity that distinguished Mr. Roosevelt when it came to really important issues. Despite rebuffs by Congress and carping by the conservative press, which doesn't love him in January as it did in May, Mr. Truman has reemphasized the thesis that "the government must assume ultimate responsibility for the economic health of the nation." That, of course, was a basic tenet of the Rooseveltian philosophy. It implies over-all government planning to keep the economy on an even keel and to counteract the tendency of free-enterprise helmsmen to steer a wildly erratic course when left to themselves.

Today fiscal policy is the government's most effective means of insuring a high and stable level of employment. As the President said in his message: "Government programs are of such importance in the development of production and employment opportunities—domestic and foreign—that it has become essential to formulate and consider the federal budget in the light of the nation's budget as a whole." In the later stages of the war the government was the greatest customer of industry and agriculture, buying more than half the gross national product, that is, the aggregate output of goods and services. In order to maintain national income at or near its war-time level, private spending by consumers and private investment in capital goods must rise *pari passu* with the fall in government spending. That change-over means a lot of difficult adjustments, but in some ways it has been proceeding more smoothly than it was reasonable to expect before V-J Day. Unemployment has been held to a moderate figure, the flow of income payments has not been seriously checked, and both consumer spending and investment have expanded sharply.

In fact, buying pressures are so strong that they are threatening to burst price ceilings, and in framing the budget the President rightly took account of the immediate danger of inflation. That meant giving thought to the maximum possible reduction in the deficit, since deficits, particularly when they are financed through created bank credits, swell the stream of purchasing power and add to inflationary pressures. In a deflationary period, when goods are plentiful in relation to purchasing power, deficit financing can provide a valuable corrective. Under present conditions, however, if the budget is to be properly used as a compensatory mechanism, it should ideally not merely balance but yield a surplus for debt reduction. Theoretically those critics who complain because Mr. Truman has not eliminated the deficit in fiscal 1947 are right. But taking into consideration the expensive incidentals of winding up a world war, the large and inflexible item of debt interest, and the many commitments to veterans, unemployed workers, farmers, and foreign countries, the President has done well to hold down total estimated expenditure to $35.8 billion, including outlays dependent on the passage of new legislation.

While the budget will not balance next year, it will not be necessary to borrow new money in order to make ends meet. The Treasury cash balance is so ample—the Victory bond drive was almost too successful—that it can take care of the deficit and, in addition, make possible debt repayment to the tune of $4.4 billion. This situation, however, could be upset if Congress were to decide on further tax remissions. Mr. Truman's message urged that taxes should remain unchanged in the coming year. He pointed out that very substantial reductions became effective at the New Year and additional relief would be inflationary. This point is well taken. The lightening of tax bills obviously adds to the total of spending money in the hands of the public, and that, as we have already noted, is too great in relation to the probable volume of goods available. Congress, however, may be less interested in checking inflation—a subject inclined to bore a good many legislators—than in handing out benefits in an election year. Consequently the President's aim of approaching a balanced budget in fiscal 1947 and achieving it in 1948 may be thwarted. A lot of educational work needs to be done before there is general acceptance of the simple but vital proposition that the time to reduce taxes is when trade is slumping. In boom periods they should be maintained at a high level or even increased.

Some of the President's critics have accused him of inconsistency for worrying simultaneously about inflation and deflation. It should not be so hard to grasp the connection between these twin evils, both symptoms of an unbalanced economy. The immediate danger, it is true, lies in the former, but one reason why it is necessary to keep a tight check-rein on an inflationary boom is its inevitable transformation into a deflationary bust.

Under inflationary conditions business always enlarges its share of the national income. With the price level trending steadily upward, the interval between buying and selling means an automatic increase in profit margins. Swollen earnings induce confidence, encourage investment in plant and inventories. Production consequently begins to expand, but as it expands, purchasing power is shrinking, for wages and salaries inevitably lag in the race up the inflationary spiral staircase, while fixed incomes are stuck at the bottom. Finally business begins to realize that it is piling up goods in a declining market, and everyone tries to unload at once. Then comes the débâcle. Mr. Truman personally experienced the effects of this cycle after the last war, and he is desperately concerned in saving the country from a repetition of the experience. In that endeavor he deserves more support than he is receiving.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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The People's Front

IF I had to characterize Czechoslovakia in a few words, I should call it "the most sensible country in Europe." Of all the liberated nations it appears to be making the most rapid strides toward economic and political recovery. Its progress is no gift from heaven. Throughout the war the Czechs painfully schooled themselves for the difficult jobs that awaited them after liberation. While other governments in exile dissipated a large part of their energies in trying to heal internal splits, the Czech regime always gave the impression of an efficient and well-articulated team. That it functioned so smoothly is due in large part to the extraordinary common sense of the captain: Eduard Benes is, above all, a man of sound judgment. In a crisis, his practical, down-to-earth solutions have never failed to rally the country behind him. There is no need, however, to picture him as a sort of Czech saint; though an outstanding national leader, he is at the same time very much of a party man—but one who knows when the party's interests must yield to those of the nation.

These qualities are clearly reflected in Benes's speech to the Provisional National Assembly on October 28, 1945. Reviewing political developments in Europe from the rise of Hitler to the present time, the Czechoslovak President expresses his long-held conviction that the pre-war system has outlived its usefulness, that out of the war must emerge a new society, with a more universal outlook and greater social and economic justice than the old. Whether he is dealing with revision of the constitution or the relations between Czechs and Slovaks, budget balancing or agrarian reform, he constantly reminds his audience that "it is in the spirit of this epoch of revolution that we must solve all the problems that face us in the sphere of our home policy." Perhaps in actual practice he is inclined to proceed more slowly. On the question of nationalization, for example, he applied the brakes so sharply that he almost had a serious accident. But when the political parties declared themselves ready to assume complete responsibility for the nationalization measures, he immediately went along with them.

At times, however, Benes can be absolutely uncompromising. Despite protests from British and American liberals, he has insisted upon his position in regard to the Sudeten Germans. He had long ago made up his mind that the Sudetens must go, and he believes he has the moral authority to take this drastic step: "We tried up to the year 1938, and especially in that year, to arrive at an understanding with our Germans in a truly liberal and genuinely humane spirit. All our endeavors were totally disappointed." Now they must leave. Benes is not willing to allow a potential fifth column to complicate the problem of reconstruction. But he is moved by no spirit of revenge. Indeed, he has tried as far as possible to prevent individual reprisals and violent measures of expulsion by local authorities; at all times he has insisted that the transfer be effected "in a humane and not a Nazi manner, and in full accord with the Allies."

Since the liberation, Czechoslovak foreign policy has been successfully oriented toward close ties with Russia without any loss of national identity. At the UNO conference in London Masaryk could truthfully say, "We are masters in our own house." While Czechoslovakia's pro-Soviet attitude is undoubtedly influenced by its geographical position and the presence of Communists in the government, it is also deeply rooted in the people themselves and was strengthened by the British-French betrayal at Munich. On the other hand, friendship with the Soviet Union does not exclude Czech collaboration with the West. For that collaboration to develop normally, however, it is essential that the Western powers make no attempt to check the clear trend toward socialism in Europe, especially in the East. On his return from a visit to Prague, Will Lawther, president of the British mine workers' union, said bluntly, "It is incredible that our diplomatic service should be used to threaten to starve one of our allies, only because in the nationalization of certain Czech industrial properties British interests were affected."

If Czechoslovakia is well on the road to recovery, it is mainly because of the spirit of unity which seems to animate all four parties of the government coalition. Relations between the Social Democratic Party and the Communists are better than anywhere else in Europe. The Czech trade unions, with a pre-war membership of 2,200,000 in a country of 15,000,000, are considered the most powerful on the Continent. But where formerly a dozen different political tendencies divided their ranks, today the unions, already back to a strength of 2,000,000, stand firmly united, and their leadership has been reinforced by men drawn from the resistance. One has only to look at the relationship of the labor movement and the government to understand the meaning of national unity in action. Three men head the trade-union organization: Zapotocky, a Communist; Erban, a Social Democrat, and Wunsch, of the Benes party. A similar combination exists in the Cabinet: the Prime Minister, Z. Fierlinger, is a Social Democrat, while Vice-President Klement Gottwald is a Communist. Foreign Minister Masaryk is a member of the Benes party; the Under Secretary, Vlado Clementis, is a Communist. Committees of coordination have been formed to iron out party differences. Far from anticipating the end of the coalition, Benes recently said that it ought to continue for at least five more years.

It is against this political background that Czechoslovakia's first general election will take place on May 26. The voting franchise has been extended to include soldiers and the eighteen-year-olds. One can only speculate on the outcome. Until recently it was generally believed that the Social Democrats held the edge; lately the Catholic Party has been gaining ground; most observers give the Communists from 20 to 22 per cent of the vote. Much will depend on the independent voters, but one thing is clear: the government that emerges from the election will still be based on a firm policy of inter-party unity.

DEL VAYO

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BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

TOCQUEVILLE'S great critique of democracy* was first published well over a hundred years ago; it has been reprinted many times and in many languages since then. But to read it in the context of these days is to feel that its panoplied republication in America in 1945 was a providential event devised by a higher and more witting power than Alfred A. Knopf.

I speak particularly of Tocqueville's discussion of cultural matters—using the word cultural in a wide, not a narrow, sense—for while his political predictions are often more curious than correct, his comments on the cultural shape of things to come continue to be almost too relevant for comfort, and fascinating as well. They happen to coincide with certain preoccupations of my own, and I hope I may be forgiven if instead of presenting an orderly review of "Democracy in America" I appropriate some of Tocqueville's extraordinary insights as texts for comment on the condition of man in this democratic age.

Alexis Henry Charles Maurice Clerel, comte de Tocqueville, was an aristocrat, a "young liberal" of his time, who recognized and was committed to the democratic revolution. Having raised himself into the clear between two worlds, he achieved a remarkably calm view both of the aristocratic society which was passing and of the relatively new social development, democracy, which by its very nature has since rendered most men incapable of the disinterested view.

Tocqueville regarded the principle of equality as the driving force of democracy. This principle would, he said, bring great benefits into the world, but it would also suggest to man some "dangerous propensities" which must be resisted and overcome in man's best interest; and his book is a warning, addressed to the leaders of men and nations, of the ordeals to which, in his view, the new and inevitable order of affairs must subject the human spirit.

The good society, for Tocqueville, was that which allowed the largest scope for the development and the free creative use of the individual's powers of mind and imagination—prime source of the varied and beautiful and enduring achievements that make up the sum of human culture. He felt that democracy offered the possibility of the good society on a universal scale; but he also envisaged a democratic society which might limit rather than enlarge the horizons of the mind. He was particularly concerned lest man unwittingly give over or consciously reject his cultural heritage, which was by force of circumstance identified with aristocratic society but which was also the distillation of the experience of the race. And his anxiety on this score sharpened rather than blurred his perceptions.

"I admire [the principle of equality] because it lodges in the very depths of each man's mind and heart that indefinable feeling, the instinctive inclination for political independence," said Tocqueville; but he did not confuse equality with liberty, and he perceived that in the very process of making men feel independent the principle of equality would also tend to isolate them one from another and to show each his own weakness.

> When the inhabitant of a democratic country compares himself individually with all those about him, he feels with pride that he is the equal of any one of them; but when he comes to survey the totality of his fellows and to place himself in contrast with so huge a body, he is instantly overwhelmed by the sense of his own insignificance and weakness.

The sense of individual weakness, combined with the promise of equality and the passion for it, would give rise, said Tocqueville, to tendencies which must be combated as inimical to the highest development of man. It would, for one thing, set up a pressure toward conformity on a huge scale—I shall discuss this later; for another, it would turn every man's attention upon himself and his own prosperity in relation to that of his neighbor (the Joneses), and this in turn would lead to an "inordinate love of material gratification" but of a peculiarly safe variety.

> The special taste that the men of democratic times entertain for physical enjoyments is not naturally opposed to the principles of public order; nay, it often stands in need of order that it may be gratified. Nor is it adverse to regularity of morals, for good morals contribute to public tranquillity and are favorable to industry. It may even be frequently combined with a species of religious morality; men wish to be as well off as they can in this world without forgoing their chance of another. Some physical gratifications cannot be indulged in without crime; from such they strictly abstain. The enjoyment of others is sanctioned by religion and morality; to these the heart, the imagination, and life itself are unreservedly given up, till in snatching at these lesser gifts men lose sight of those more precious possessions which constitute the glory and greatness of mankind.
>
> The reproach I address to the principle of equality is not that it leads men away in the pursuit of forbidden enjoyments but that it absorbs them wholly in quest of those which are allowed. By these means a kind of virtuous materialism may ultimately be established in the world, which would not corrupt but enervate the soul and noiselessly unbend its springs of action.

This summary, and indictment, of the bourgeois way of life has hardly been improved upon, while the phrase "virtuous materialism" is a wonderful example of the author's profundity and wit.

Tocqueville noted in America in 1831 the twin passions for equality and for commerce. These proclivities, along with our superior resources and our technological skill—"men living in democratic ages cannot fail to improve the industrial

* "Democracy in America." By Alexis de Tocqueville. The Henry Reeve Text as Revised by Francis Bowen Now Further Corrected and Edited with Introduction, Editorial Notes, and Bibliography, by Phillips Bradley. Alfred A. Knopf. $6.

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part of science"—have combined to produce the most egregious example so far of "virtuous materialism." It is only just, however, to say that our example is one which the rest of the world has done its best, and has now, quite understandably, taken a new resolve, to emulate. One of the few certain results of the war will turn out to be, I think, an increased worldwide preoccupation with things. In this country, after the past few years of privation, it has entered a new obsessive phase.

And at this point another of Tocqueville's merciless notations on the quality of American life falls with peculiar force. He commented on its "excited yet monotonous aspect"; he found here a "strange melancholy," a "restlessness in the midst of prosperity." It was Tocqueville's opinion that "their taste for physical gratifications must be regarded as the original source of that secret disquietude which the actions of the Americans betray."

Few intelligent observers will deny that there is still "restlessness in the midst of prosperity" and that this restlessness seeks assuagement in the piling up of possessions, large and small. Few will maintain that it will be assuaged though every home be fitted out with a deep-freeze unit, television, and an electric maid—if only because the passion for things is by its very nature insatiable.

In this restlessness perhaps lies the hope, dim as it often seems, that "virtuous materialism" will raise up the agent of its overthrow, that the millions who continue to "strain their faculties to the utmost to achieve paltry results" will eventually demand more satisfying rewards, and democratic society work out—as Tocqueville said in paying his respects to those who would try to go back—"that species of greatness and happiness which is our own."

T. S. Eliot had something to say on this point in an interview recently published in *Horizon*. When he was asked, by a rather awkward interviewer, if he saw any "creative future" in view of the ascendancy of technology, he answered:

> I think it is possible that that process . . . may go still further in the same direction, but I think that any tendency like that gives rise to its own opposite, and that in the end, sooner or later . . . there will be a general rebellion against it, because, you see, that sort of thing leads to something which the technological type of mind leaves out of account. And that is that human beings will just become bored with the kind of life they have from it—and I think that boredom is a very powerful force in life and that people will do the most extraordinary things to escape from it.

The nature of the "greatness and happiness which is our own" is not to be defined or foreseen. It will obviously be as various as the human species; it will involve in some way the creative use of man's peculiar gifts.

Tocqueville, being of his age, often invoked religion. Eliot has invoked it in our age, but for most people religion has become an archaic and impossible refuge. Yet the question persists: "For what shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" It persists because it is not a religious but a human question—to which religion has been only one of the answers.

Next week I shall discuss Tocqueville's prognosis of the specific effects of the spread of democracy on the practice and appreciation of the arts.

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BRIEFER COMMENT

John Henry Newman

OF THE GREAT FIGURES of the Victorian past there is none that stands the years so well as Newman. Non-Catholics are as likely as not to begin to read him with aversion, but the challenge that he offers to one's assumptions is so lively and so real, his sense of the world is so subtle and coherent, and his psychological perception is so complex and shrewd that any reader who takes pleasure in endangering his own fixed ideas must be grateful for the exhilaration that Newman can give. It is unfortunate that neither of the two books on Newman published in the centenary year of his conversion to Catholicism does justice to his intellectual interest. John Moody's "John Henry Newman" (Sheed and Ward, $3.75) is the work of an amateur scholar—the author of "Moody's Manual of Investments"—a Catholic layman who has had a lively religious career, having been, before his own Catholic conversion, a member of the Low, the Broad, and the High groups of the Protestant Episcopal church. Mr. Moody's biography is simple, lucid, and warm, and as such admirable. But it is touched with a certain snippy, parochial condescension to non-Catholic thought; and the modesty of its intellectual pretensions does not justify the inadequacy of its intellectual power; nor is it sufficient in its scholarship, for it omits from its bibliography many of the most notable of the modern studies of Newman. Charles Frederic Harrold's "John Henry Newman" (Longmans, Green, $3.50) is the work of an Episcopalian and a professional scholar. It is free from the limitations of partisanship, and it is as scholarly as one could wish—or as one would expect from the learned author of "Carlyle and German Thought." But Professor Harrold's book, although likely to prove indispensable to students of Newman, is not likely to be attractive to the general reader. It is quite frankly an academic work—after two chapters of condensed and undramatic biography, it goes on to the summary, exposition, and criticism of Newman's ideas and powers. It is impossible not to be aware of how painstaking, balanced, careful, and sound this evaluation is; yet it is equally impossible not to feel that it has the effect of leaving Newman's thought inorganic and remote, and this despite Professor Harrold's own insistence on its vitality and relevance. LIONEL TRILLING

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Working Reporter

ELSIE DANENBERG went to Britain while the bombs were still dropping to report the part, the very large part, that its women were playing in the war effort. She was not content, however, to be taken on conducted tours: she wanted to share experiences before writing about them. Consequently, "Blood, Sweat, and Lipstick" (Greenberg, $2.50), the book which describes those experiences, has a freshness and authenticity lacking in many descriptions of war-time England. Despite the title there is not a great deal of blood in these pages or very much lipstick; there is an abundance of sweat. In the course of twelve months or so Mrs. Danenberg undertook a large number of jobs. Some of them were dangerous, many of them were dirty, all of them involved hard physical labor. They included work with an aircraft rescue squad, in a cotton mill, with the Women's Land Army, on a canal boat, in a fishing-shed gutting herrings, in a railroad repair shop cleaning locomotives. These and other chores gave her an opportunity, such as no other American correspondent seized, of entering into the lives of British workers. Thus her book, while lightly written, offers a revealing picture of social conditions and problems which, now the external enemy has been defeated, challenge the united energies of British men and women. KEITH HUTCHISON

World War II: an Informal History

"THE STORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR," edited, with historical narrative, by Henry Steele Commager (Little, Brown, $3), does not pretend to be a formal or systematic history. It is far too early, as Mr. Commager says, for that effort, since the important records are not yet available. It is with the experience of the war that this book is concerned. An abundant selection of writings by men of all ranks and nations who were eyewitnesses of the campaigns is set in a remarkably clear and substantial narrative framework by the author-editor—quite the most readable thing of its kind so far published. Mr. Commager is admirably catholic in his choice of material. A speech of Winston Churchill's is set beside a Russian colonel's description of action,

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"RESISTANCE TO TYRANNY IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD"

"Rt. Hon. Earl of Halifax
British Embassy
Washington, D. C.

"Your nation now seeks a loan from the United States. And I, my lord, as a citizen of the United States, oppose the granting of this loan. I should like to tell you why.

"You, my lord, and certain English governments of the last years, seems to have done your share in upsetting the peace of the world. You sympathized with and backed Mussolini. Various English interests helped arm Hitler. In the Civil War in Spain you helped choke Republicanism, and allowed Spain to be the proving ground of the Fascist war machines. You made Munich. The history of government, my lord, in England, in our time, is that first you armed, then you appeased. And this, my lord, causes me to consider the various English governments of the last years the most inept since George III.

"I say this with deep regret. For England gave the world much of its concept of free men. And the English people in this war sacrificed heroically, and won the admiration of the world. But their governments have been stupid and inept.

"I was appalled, my lord, at your reign of terror in Greece. I deplore the use of American lend-lease materials to massacre Greeks. I deplore your massacre of the Indonesians. And I view with horror and loathing your massacre of Hebrews, both in postwar Germany, and in Palestine.

"I am a Jew, my lord, and an American, and I hope, a citizen of the world. Five million Jews, my lord, were murdered in Germany. And, in my opinion, you, my lord, and your governments, were accessory to the crime. For you could have opened the doors of Palestine. I believe, my lord, the conscience of the world will decry your not having done so. I believe the American people feel perfectly willing for all Jews who want to go there, to go to Palestine.

"Your reasons, my lord, for not opening Palestine to Hebrew repatriation are scant and false. Palestine is no colony of England. England has a mandate there, a mandate in essence being a trusteeship, which has not been administered sensibly or in good faith. The Balfour Declaration, on which the mandate was based, called for a 'Homeland' in Palestine. All quibbling about words, my lord, cannot reduce the implication. A homeland is a homeland, not a place where the people appointed to this homeland are barred, or those already established there experience taxation without representation, or experience trial without jury. . . .

"You are driving a people desirous of freedom to revolution, my lord. And then you will haul out the tanks, possibly obtained through American lend-lease. And possibly use Arab or Hessian mercenaries.

"My lord, should the Greeks revolt against the regime you have imposed, should more Indonesians join the revolt, should the Hebrews revolt against you in Palestine, I should be very much for them. Resistance to tyranny, my lord, is obedience to God.

"And it does no good to throttle the press services out of Palestine, and to refer to those fighting for liberty as 'terrorists.' George III put a price upon George Washington's head, and Benjamin Franklin's, and called them 'rebels.' Name-calling and head-pricing, my lord, will not do.

"There might have been some excuse, my lord, for the Imperialistic point of view back in the days when oil was important in war. Some months ago, from the Imperialistic point of view, there might have been some reason for frying the Hebrews in Palestinian oil. But, my lord, the atom bomb has antiquated oil and the oil point of view.

"My lord, the governments you served have proved to be shortsighted and inept. They have collaborated with the tyrannies they later had to resist. They have imposed tyrannies in the midst of a war for freedom. They have made mock of the legend of England. And of the freedoms for which we fought.

"When the 'rebel' Benjamin Franklin was unofficial ambassador to France he wrote the French an essay on economy in which he termed the government of England a very bad risk. In the same sense, my lord, I think you and the government you represent a bad risk. For, my lord, you have crowned the war for freedom, Four Freedoms, if I remember correctly, with a series of tyrannies. And tyrannies, says history, cannot survive the ultimate explosion of those tyrannized.

"My lord, desist. Stop shooting Greeks and Indonesians. And stop killing Hebrews. The Hebrews, my lord, for five thousand years of written history have struggled for freedom. They have struggled for it in many places and have brought the light of freedom to much of the world. That is why they were hated by tyrants from Haman to Hitler. But freedom, my lord, fires in the flames of war and persecution. And I can tell you, from their history, that if you continue your persecution of the Hebrews in Palestine they will find a blood-drenched freedom there.

"I think, in this age there may be a better way of doing things. And I ask you to come to a more sensible way.

"Yours, sir, in the hope of the Peace much talked about but not yet declared or evident."

Lester Cohen

The American League for a Free Palestine, in publishing the open letter by Lester Cohen, internationally famous writer, author of "Sweepings" and the recent best-seller "Coming Home," appeals to the people of this country, whatever their origin or creed, to protest this outrage against mankind.

Make your voice heard. Demand of President Truman and of your Congressman that:

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(B) The United States Government give full assistance to the immediate repatriation of the Hebrews from Europe to their own territory, Palestine.

For quick action, give us your financial support and help us to bring this nation-wide campaign to a successful conclusion.

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and both beside a report from the *New Yorker.* (And why not? For that magazine's correspondence in Britain and France has been far more useful than the high-pressure stuff of *Life* and *Time*). But, good value as this book is, the prospective buyer should be warned that it is to be published by Pocket Books at one-twelfth of the present price.

RALPH BATES

VERSE CHRONICLE

THE BURNING-GLASS. By Walter de la Mare. The Viking Press. $2.50.

THERE are several beautiful poems in "The Burning Glass"; it is a book which will interest and occasionally delight a reader of any generosity or imagination. It will not satisfy his ideas of what poetry should be, unless his ideas are deplorable ones; but how many poems will? It is important for us to realize that many of the values of good poetry are irreconcilable: if some good poems have a tough reasonableness underneath the slight lyric grace—as the Stagirite says—a great many have a tender unreasonableness. In the old days I should have suggested borrowing a few nuclear physicists to persuade us that it is possible and profitable to use one set of hypotheses on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and another set the rest of the week; but today it would be like borrowing the murderer from "Macbeth"—one could not listen for trembling. Academic critics will overrate De la Mare's book because he writes the "right" sort of poetry—that is, romantic and traditional; modernist critics will underrate it because he writes the "wrong" sort. I should say that he sometimes writes poetry that is good of its kind, and that this is the only sort of good poetry there is: there is none that is good of all the kinds, and there is no kind superior to all the rest—though some sort of rough, *caeteris paribus* valuing of the kinds is possible.

De la Mare comes so late in the development of romanticism that though he still believes in the romantic's world he believes in it helplessly and hopelessly, as a long and necessarily, though perhaps not "really," lost cause. For its sweet ghost—a specter that is haunting the industrial and scientific world that has destroyed it—he feels a nostalgic, rapt despair. Restrained by considerations neither of expediency nor of possibility, his romantic doctrines have become extraordinarily characteristic and extravagant: the forlorn hope is always the purest hope. Yet he grieves not so much over what has happened to everybody as over what must necessarily happen to anybody: over Man and the Present and what Is, these terrible crippling actualizations of the Child and the Past and what Might Have Been. This world of potentiality that he loves and needs is the world of the child *as it seems to the grown-up.* What we are is made bearable for him only by his knowledge that we once were potentially—hence, *were*—everything that we are not; and dreams and myths and tales, everything else that would be except for the fact that it isn't, are a similar consolation. To him the ordinary rational or practical life resembles the mechanical and rationalized routine, the hysterical anaesthesia of the hypnotized subject:

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what is real lies above (God, Beauty) or under (dreams, animals, children) or around (ghosts, all the beings of myth or *Märchen*). It is children and animals and the heart ("which with a deeper life doth beat/Than any wherein thought hath part") that participate in reality: the blinkers of reason confine our conscious, systematic knowledge to what is unimportant or irrelevant. Yet De la Mare's Heart not only has its reasons but does a surprising amount of reasoning with them; and its sentences are grammatical and full of semicolons. He does not share the characteristic superstition of much modern opinion: that generalization or "statement" has no place in poetry.

De la Mare's world is neither the best nor the worst but the most enchanted of all possible worlds. If reality is not what we would like it to be, it is nevertheless what we feel it to be: to be is to be *felt*. In the "clear, grave, dark" universe of these poems Falstaff and a ghost are ontologically equal, and both of them are ontologically superior to you, reader, unless you appeal to De la Mare a good deal more than there is any reason to suppose you do. Unfortunately this criterion is a thoroughly accidental one; if De la Mare happened to develop a taste for science a whole new category of reality would suddenly come into being. The images he treats everything in terms of, the choir and furniture of his world, demonstrate beyond question what is Real to him: dreams; intuition; emotions, perceptions—any quality or essence known sympathetically and valued intrinsically; the more appealing universals (Beauty or Truth is real to him, entropy or triangularity isn't); the supernatural—everything from elves and Ariel to those powers or deities with which the natural world is haunted; nature, especially moonlight, the stars, clouds, trees, the pleasanter and better-known animals, flowers, the sea, and such; and children. A child asleep is for De la Mare the archetype of all knowledge: the delicate and secure innocence of the child's face mirrors a knowledge beyond any wisdom, "maps secrets stranger than the seas', In hieroglyphics more austere, And older far than Rameses'." (It is odd that this judgment is never extended to puppies or kittens, which have the same wonderful look.) If we happened to be oviparous, and our children looked like young owls or robins, this idea would hardly have occurred to De la Mare. But such an extension to the universe itself of a principle derived from one contingent, infinitesimal segment of that universe is too common for its recognition to involve much blame.

De la Mare uses delicately and sometimes magically the ordinary vocabulary of the romantic poets ("lorn as curlew's in the hush/Of dewfall. . . ."); but he has a feeling for terse, homely, concrete phrasing that is not ordinary, and a surprising Hardyish willingness to use awkward and ineffective abstractions because he spontaneously thinks of a subject in those terms. He uses the most flagrant poetic diction, half for old-fashioned manners and half for love: he seems to share the Collegiate Dictionary's fighting belief that a poem is "a composition in verse, characterized by imagination and poetic diction." Similarly he thinks the gaudiest trappings of Elizabethan tragedy intrinsically valuable, and his fervidly romantic and dramatic speeches in blank verse are interestingly close to those of Kipling's mock-Elizabethan play. (His poems are *about* part of the pre-1941 world, not our own—

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though there is something prescient in their gloom.) When he writes in the grand manner it is with a certain innocence, as children act out an execution; he is genuinely unassuming, a mouse in a corner, and never thinks to tell you, as better but vainer poets do: "Now I am going to be humble."

It is easy to complain that De la Mare writes about unreality; but how *can* anybody write about unreality? From his children and ghosts, ideal as they are, one learns little about children and nothing about ghosts; but one learns a great deal of the reality of which both are projections, of the wishes and lacks and love that have produced their "unreality." (We read religious poems not to learn about God but to learn about people.) At the very least De la Mare is a perspective of reality, a way of sight, that satisfies the limitations he and his readers share, and that exposes to his readers the limitations that are peculiar to De la Mare—or to themselves. He has made himself a fool for the sake of Faerie, for the sake of everything that is irrational, impractical, and at the same time essential; and because he has persisted in his folly his best poems—limited and extravagant as they are—are full of the personal distinction, the involuntary individuality that are marks of a real poet. But his poetry represents our world only as the flickering shade pattern of leaves upon an arm can represent the arm; the hard hot flesh in the sunlight has nothing to stand for it but vacancy.

RANDALL JARRELL

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

IF IT were not for the classics, ancient and modern, this would be in the theater a very dismal season indeed. Last week it was Molière who alone seemed worth talking about, and next week I hope to say something about the admirable revival of "Pygmalion" offered by the recently formed Theater Incorporated. At the present moment, however, I am too full of the Guild's new production of "The Winter's Tale" (Cort Theater) to think of anything else, and I must announce without further ado that I found it one of the most rewarding performances of Shakespeare I have ever had the good fortune to see.

"Hamlets" good, bad, or indifferent come and go. The very best of them are really always something less than adequate in the simple sense that, however excellent they may be in one respect or another, they never completely realize the whole which any competent reader more or less clearly divines in the text itself. "The Winter's Tale," on the other hand, is not a play whose greatness is self-evident. I confess, indeed, that I had never previously known just how to take it, and consequently I never read it through to the end without a certain embarrassment, without a private admission that, for all the justly famous passages, it seemed as a whole an astonishingly feeble performance to come from the pen of the greatest writer the world has ever known. Those responsible for the present production have, miraculously, found just that "way to take it" which eludes most readers, and the result, so far as I am concerned, is one for which "revelation" is the only adequate word.

On the program B. Iden Payne and Romney Brent are credited jointly with the direction. I have no way of knowing who is chiefly responsible for the general conception of the production, but actors and designer alike have been somehow led to achieve a unified style which successfully interprets a highly unusual dramatic intention to an audience completely unprepared by habit or tendency to understand or appreciate anything remotely resembling what Shakespeare has offered them. The superficial aspects of the style are easy enough to describe. Everything from Stuart Chaney's brightly beautiful costumes and graceful conventionalized settings through the sometimes stately and sometimes prankish performance of a very unusually competent company creates a story-book world to which the criteria employed in everyday life are obviously irrelevant. But what seemed like a similar method was employed in the Helen Hayes production of "Twelfth Night" with no more than merely pleasant results, whereas here the effect is to release from Shakespeare's play a beauty whose very existence I confess I had never more than glimpsed.

Moreover, and despite the often deprecated change in tone and the sixteen-year lapse of time between the two halves of the play, the effect is overwhelmingly cumulative. One begins, as the first scene unfolds, to accept with a willing suspension of disbelief the childlike tale of a king who so unreasonably suspected his impossibly pure and impossibly long-suffering wife; but before one can be aware of what has happened the voluntary credence has become involuntary and one can no

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longer choose but hear. In all literature there is probably no scene more utterly preposterous by the standards of realism than that concluding one in which the statue of Hermione reveals itself to be not a statue but Hermione herself, emerging at last from sixteen years of hiding in a cottage on the palace grounds. But at least two spectators, I know, watched the revelation and the recognition with breathless interest and wept to find everything turning out so precisely as it should. No spectacle is more touching than the spectacle of happiness, and when this particular journey ends in lovers' meetings the representation of so much joy is almost intolerable, affecting one like the triumphant conclusion of a great symphony whose logic and credibility have their existence in a realm equally far removed from that of everyday life. It is perhaps ungracious to do no more than mention the performances of Romney Brent, Jessie Royce Landis, Florence Reed, Henry Daniell, and the rest, but this is one of those rather rare occasions when it is the whole of which one is most aware.

Critics have not usually been at their best in dealing with the plays of Shakespeare's "last period." What they have said about the "deeper wisdom" and "Godlike serenity" of "Cymbeline" and "The Tempest" and "The Winter's Tale" does not seem to illuminate much a mystery which is, to me at least, still almost completely inexplicable. But it does seem that an age in which few can be found naive enough to suppose that a painting is necessarily damned because it does not literally imitate some object would also be an age in which dramatic critics would not gravely point out, as more than one reviewer of "The Winter's Tale" did, that the jealousy of Leontes is "inadequately motivated." However remote the analogy may be, the seeming childishness of "The Winter's Tale" bears no more relation to actual childishness than a painting by Matisse bears to a child's sketch involving similar simplifications as well as similar distortions, and to say that the incident of the statue coming to life is improbable is to be as acute as one would be to object that a chair by Matisse is out of perspective. Shakespeare sets himself to consider certain realities called "jealousy," "faithfulness," "young love," and the like. He makes of them a dramatic arrangement very much as a painter makes an arrangement of objects, and I confess that I have very little idea how he does it. But the effect is overwhelmingly beautiful, and the fact that he did not bother to motivate Leontes's jealousy or to make the reappearance of Hermione probable detracts in no way whatever from the final effect.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

ANOTHER important event which I am late in writing about is the evening of ballet put on by the National Orchestral Association in association with the School of American Ballet. The program consisted chiefly of new works created for the occasion by Balanchine—created for only this one performance of students, but by the same process as the works for professional companies, by the exercise of nothing less than the full measure of Balanchine's great powers, their interaction with the particular music, their operation through the particular capacities of the dancers, with results which, like other works of Balanchine, were astoundingly and excitingly new and beautiful. One of them, to Mozart's Sinfonie Concertante K. 364, provided a striking illustration of something that I pointed out last fall—that in Balanchine's ballets, as in Mozart's concertos, the mind, the language and style, the formula are always the same, but the completed forms are constantly new. Over and over again Balanchine has used the formula of the *Adagio* of ballerina supported by male dancer, and achieved each time something newly and wonderfully imagined; and here, with the slow movement of the Sinfonie Concertante, was still another such *Adagio,* different again and wonderful. And on the other hand, to an Elegy of Stravinsky Balanchine created an extraordinary duet—a powerful slow intertwining of two dancers in a "modern" style that I could not recall his having used before—which was, in effect, his way of saying to the "modern" dancers: "I can do it better than you."

Again there was occasion for me to admire Leon Barzin's competence as a conductor and excellence as a musician, and to reflect sadly on the situation in which they continue to be used in the training of players for positions in great orchestras that are conducted by his inferiors.

I didn't see the 1927 production of "Show Boat"; but I have been hearing its great songs ever since; and their appearance in incredible succession provided much of the pleasure I got from the new production. They were excellently sung too by Carol Bruce (Julie), Charles Fredericks (Ravenal), and Kenneth Spencer (Joe), but not by Jan Clayton (Magnolia), whose thin, sharp, tremulous soprano was not agreeable to listen to, and whose appearance and acting were uncomfortable to watch. Other things I enjoyed were Buddy Ebsen's comic drolleries, the period stage-dances devised by Tamiris for the white dancers of the cast, the settings by Howard Bay, costumes of Lucinda Ballard, and staging of the work by Hassard Short. And other things that made me uncomfortable were the arty dances of the Negro dancers of the cast, including the excessively coy Pearl Primus; and almost everything—characters, story, humor—contributed by the book.

A reader informs me that he did listen to the forum and quiz during the intermissions of the broadcast of "Rigoletto," and that I would have been surprised if I had listened. "Not that you would have found that the discussion of the subject of opera in English said anything or got anywhere. What would have surprised you was the viciousness that clothed itself in the observances of surface politeness. The participants complimented and deferred to each other as they tried to catch each other in mistakes, to show each other up, to press a knife into each other's ribs. They did the same thing in the quiz, which may have been frolicsome when you heard it, but was a nasty performance this time." Possibly I would have been surprised by all this; certainly I would have wondered that it should be considered relevant to a performance of "Rigoletto."

From the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe announcement of its coming New York season I learn with joy that "Le Baiser de la fée" is to be restored to the repertory. This is one of the great dramatic ballets that Balanchine produced a number of years ago, filled with the fascinating strokes of imagination that someone once referred to as "fantaisie Balanchine." I am still hoping to see the others again: "Concurrence," "Cotillon," "The Prodigal Son," "The Ball."

There will also be a new work by Balanchine—"Night Shadow." And a praiseworthy artistic gesture is the production of one of the three-act classical works that Petitpas created for the imperial Russian stage — "Raymonda," which will be recreated in its original style by Balanchine and Danilova, both of whom appeared in it in Russia

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Letters to the Editors

Straus: Corroboration

Dear Sirs: Lest some readers be skeptical of Mr. Straus's article in *The Nation* of January 5, may I, as a member of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, add a few corroborating comments on These Men Block Housing. In a bulletin issued May 15, 1945, by the Columbus, Ohio, Real Estate Board, after a long and practically successful campaign against public housing for slum clearance and a successful campaign against government war housing, this statement was printed: "John and Willard made a trip to Washington, where they were given assurance that no defense-housing project would be built in Columbus unless it was evident that private enterprise could not cope with the emergency, and then only after consultation with officials of your board." Columbus had a housing shortage then—war industries called for housing. However, thanks to this restrictive activity, our shortage increased to such a degree that it now calls for comprehensive federal treatment along the lines Mr. Straus suggests.

Mr. Straus puts his finger on the chicanery going on around housing at the national level when he points out that few G. I.'s can buy or afford $10,000 homes. The great demand, the great need, in Columbus as elsewhere in the nation is for homes renting up to $35 or $40 a month, and homes for sale at $3,000 to $6,000. Setting $10,000 as the ceiling means simply the continuation, and the extension, with government approval, of the "trickle-down home-building system."

With reference to the powerful lobby of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, perhaps your readers will be surprised to learn that membership in this organization is no longer limited to the real-estate field. For the last several years the membership doors have been thrown wide open to all comers; filling-station operators, chain-store operators, automobile dealers, tire dealers, newspapers, printers, real-estate speculators, owners of large property holdings, savings and loan institutions, banks, and what have you, now compose the group.

I feel that private enterprise in Columbus can, if it will, provide housing at the $50 a month level. Private building here levels off at around a $30-monthly (shelter) rent. It cannot and it does not supply housing at lower levels. Here, as Mr. Straus states, the answer indisputably is public housing.

Finally, not one urban redevelopment scheme, federal or state, has the important price-limit safeguard suggested by Mr. Straus. Unless this type of legislation is to become a speculator's dream, the land-price limitation and other equally important safeguards must be included. It is sincerely to be hoped that his suggestion in this direction is accepted by Congress.

HENRY E. WORLEY

Columbus, Ohio, January 24

Straus: a Challenge

Dear Sirs: Nathan Straus's article entitled These Men Block Housing was excellent in many respects. My basic criticism of the article is that while the Congressional attitudes portrayed were absolutely accurate in 1939 and 1940, I doubt very much if they are fully correct today. Mr. Straus's specific recommendations are a challenge to those who are attempting to think through a national housing program at this time. No one could disagree with his objectives, no matter how difficult they would be of accomplishment.

LEE F. JOHNSON,
Executive Vice-President,
National Public Housing Conference

Washington, January 12

Straus: a Genuine Service

Dear Sirs: I read with a great deal of interest the article by Nathan Straus, former USHA Administrator, in the January 5 issue of *The Nation*. I believe that Mr. Straus, while undoubtedly perfectly sincere, sees certain shadows in the dark which have been magnified in this article. It is and always has been my personal belief that there is no basic conflict between public housing and private enterprise. Mr. Straus in his article not only indicates that there is such a conflict but actually proposes a very definite entrance into the field normally belonging to private endeavor by the public-housing authorities.

It has been my observation that the barrage issued by the private building interests against public housers is primarily the propaganda of the "high command" only, the lobbies of the N. H. B. A. and the N. A. R. E. B. It is my feeling, after discussing the matter with numerous people in real estate and the home-building trades, that they echo the statements of the powerful lobby without rationalizing the statements or subscribing to the points of view expressed. When you sit down to talk with them in a friendly rational fashion you find that they are usually in general agreement with the aims of public housing, and they frequently end up by indicating their support and assistance.

I think Mr. Straus has done a genuine service in presenting the situation as vigorously as he has. However, the figures quoted on the number of dwellings needed in the various rental ranges are, I believe, open to question. Administrator Blandford and Commissioner Klutznick have indicated the present need as totaling 5,000,000 houses with 12,600,000 units in the next decade. Mr. Straus's statement, too, that *only* public housing can provide healthful, livable homes within the means of people able to pay from $20 to $50 a month in rent is, I believe, not altogether accurate. The public-housing program today is geared to provide accommodations for $10 to $30 per month or at the most $20 to $40. People able to pay above $40 are very definitely within the field of private enterprise.

Mr. Straus's proposal for a Congressional appropriation of $200,000,000 for grants to communities for the purchase of housing sites is an interesting one and deserves considerable study.

In closing I feel that, despite my lack of total agreement with Mr. Straus's statement, he has performed a genuine service in focusing attention on two vital phases of the present housing crisis—the matter of the clearance of slums and the provision of veterans' housing. For these, I believe he is entitled to our gratitude.

FREDERIC A. FAY,
Ass't Executive Director, Housing
Authority of the City of Portsmouth

Portsmouth, Va., January 16

Your Help Is Needed

Dear Sirs: In the December 22 issue of *The Nation*, I notice that you have listed organizations which are collecting clothing to send to various parts of the world for war victims. This is, it seems to me, a splendid way of indi-

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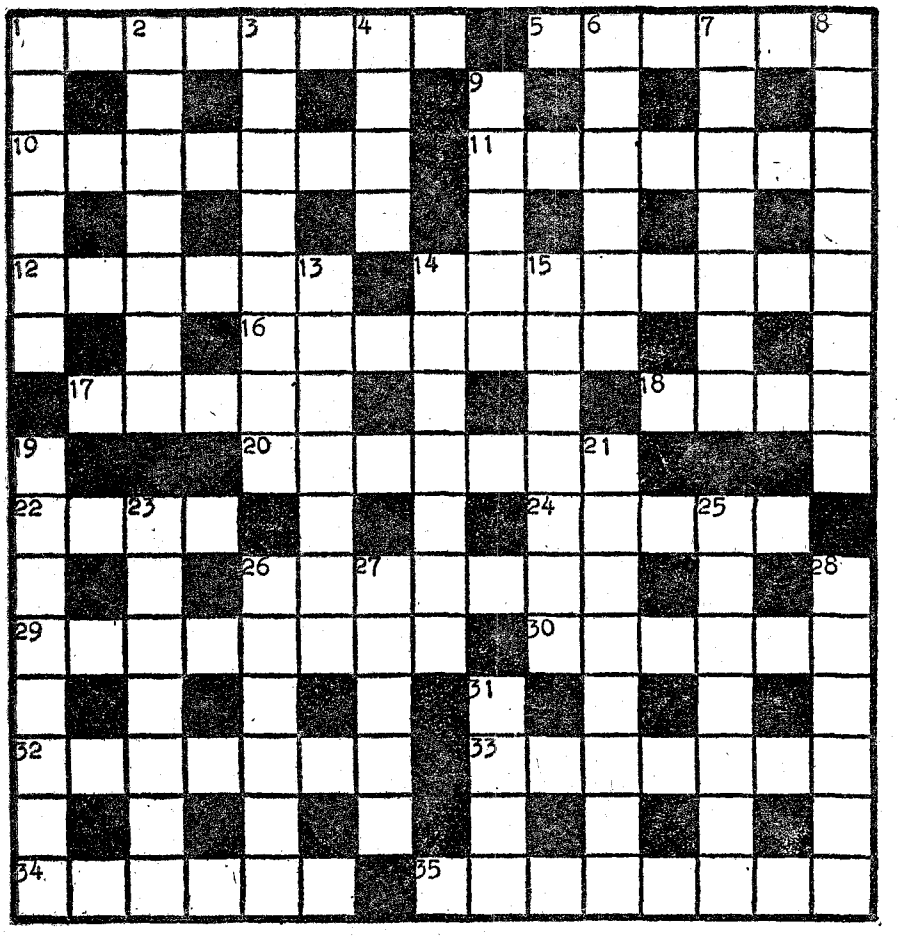
Crossword Puzzle No. 146

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Mirth-provokers with a light touch
5 If you wish to wound these Celts, call them this
10 Lora, somewhat deranged, embraces a pal in an Italian seaport
11 Evidently not the hero in Goldsmith's *The Good-natured Man*
12 This Egyptian peasant sounds like a regular guy
14 Suave as Uriah Heep
16 The Mississippi or the Amazon, perhaps, in their very early youth
17 Elusive when uncollared
18 Eyesore that is better curtailed
20 An omission from this bit of harness would be one way to cause trouble
22 What Julius Caesar said when Brutus stabbed him?
24 Looks like the devil, doesn't it?
26 "Hark! to the hurried question of ------- : 'Where is my child?' An echo answers, 'Where?'"
29 The whole crowd, not excluding Kit
30 Unwilling to contribute anything to poetry
32 May hold you up on the highway
33 P'raps in the kitchen garden
34 A musician I boost
35 English king—the Unready one

DOWN

1 A commendable virtue—in an ancestor
2 No friend of Montague, in the Shakespearean tragedy
3 These followers of Wycliffe seem to have been all lords
4 Such unrestrained indulgence is nonsense when I am out of it
6 You can't see much more of these Yugoslavians than their jackets
7 Delete (two words, 4 & 3)
8 An ass among the hares
9 You should be able to get this small cake in this Scots town
13 Got a move on
14 Strip of clothing
15 Heroine and title of a wartime film paid thus
19 A pretty conceit
21 It would be contrary if a poet were
23 Don Q.'s Rozinante was a sorry specimen of one
25 Would he want to hold an inquest on every bridge hand?
26 "Our ------ are traitors, And make us lose the good we oft might win By fearing to attempt"
27 Innuendoes
28 Heed Pa (anag.)
31 "Out, damned ----! out, I say"

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 145

ACROSS:—1 SHRAPNEL; 5 NEWTON; 10 DUELIST; 11 LOITERS; 12 ETUI; 13 CRASH; 16 LOVE; 17 CATSPAW; 19 ENDOR; 20 PEG-LEG; 22 VANILLA; 23 EMBLEM; 25 EVICT; 27 RED NOSE; 31 MILL; 32 LISTS; 33 ONCE; 36 NURTURE; 37 ORIGINS; 38 SINGLE; 39 HEAR! HEAR!

DOWN:—1 SYDNEY; 2 RAEBURN; 3 PHIZ; 4 EXTORT; 6 ERIN; 7 TREFOIL; 8 NEST-EGGS; 9 CLASP; 13 CARAMEL; 14 ASSIGNS; 15 HAPLESS; 17 COVER; 18 WEAVE; 21 TERMINUS; 24 BULL RUN; 26 CANDIDE; 28 DIVED; 29 OTIOSE; 30 GEYSER; 34 GULL; 35 LIAR.

cating to your readers something concrete that every individual can do to help.

I was disappointed, however, to see that the Unitarian Service Committee was not among the organizations listed. For over a year now we have been conducting a vigorous campaign for used clothing. Nearly every month, and sometimes twice a month, shipments of clothing are leaving New York. Most of the clothing has gone to France, but some of it has been sent to Czechoslokavia and Holland as well. Just now we are preparing shipments for Austria and Hungary, and all contributions are welcome. HOWARD L. BROOKS

Boston, Mass., December 27

[*The Nation* regrets that the Unitarian Service Committee was omitted from the pre-Christmas list, and heartily indorses its appeal.]

Brady Did It

Dear Sirs: In his column of January 12 Joseph Wood Krutch was juggling with theatrical history in crediting the Theater Guild with the production of Elmer Rice's play, "Street Scene." I am sure the record will show that it was produced by William A. Brady.

JACOB WILK

New York, January 15

Look It Up!

Dear Sirs: Our newspapers are full of talk these days about decentralization of our cities. Apart from any consideration of the atom bomb, it seems to me this is desirable, and I am moved to call the attention of your readers to a book published thirty-five years ago, "Roadtown," by Edgar Chambless.

The author's plan was to build what might be described as a skyscraper laid on its side and extending 1,000 miles or so, with a noiseless road and promenade on top and a noiseless railroad underground beneath the structure. There would be a large number of individual homes as in a city block, and there would be unlimited country when you stepped outside your door. Heat, light, hot and cold water, and telephone would be obtained by pressing a button.

The idea was far ahead of its time, and now might be the occasion to revive it. At the time I called it the most constructive city-planning idea ever published, and that opinion still stands. Look it up! UPTON SINCLAIR

Monrovia, Cal., January 15

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A Request for
The Suspension
of
ARGENTINA
from
The United Nations

Memorandum Submitted to
The General Assembly of The United Nations by

The Nation Associates

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Reprinted as a Special Section of
THE *Nation*

FEBRUARY 2, 1946 IN TWO PARTS: PART TWO

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THE outside world has had little official news from Argentina since June 4, 1943, when a band of army officers headed by Edelmiro Farrell and Juan Perón overthrew the legal government and seized power by armed force. But American newspapermen in Buenos Aires have succeeded, despite intermittent censorship and covert and open threats of reprisals, in giving the people of the United States a fairly comprehensive picture of the Nazi-fascist regime that rules Argentina. Together with statements made by our own government, their first-hand observations constitute a damning indictment of an Axis satellite that has violated every pledge made when it signed the Chapultepec Agreement and was admitted to the United Nations Organization. On the basis of these reports The Nation Associates has compiled the memorandum which follows. It has been submitted to Paul Henri Spaak, president of the United Nations Assembly now meeting in London, and to the leading delegations. Copies have also been sent to the President of the United States and to the State Department.

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A PROPOSAL FOR ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS

ON MARCH 27, 1945, the Farrell-Perón regime of Argentina declared war on Japan and Germany. On April 4, 1945, it signed the Act of Chapultepec incorporating the agreements of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace.

Thus it fulfilled two conditions precedent to its admission to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco.

The first condition was laid down by the inviting powers; the second by the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, which met early in March in Mexico.

On April 30, 1945, acting on the initiative of the American delegation and backed unanimously by the Latin American republics, the San Francisco conference voted to seat Argentina.

On September 8, 1945, the Farrell-Perón regime formally ratified the United Nations Charter.

On October 24, 1945, the United Nations Organization came into formal existence after fifty-one member nations had signed and filed their ratifications.

The first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is now in progress in London. Its purpose is to establish the machinery and initiate the acts through which the principles of the United Nations Charter may be implemented.

Article I of the charter provides that the initial function of the United Nations "is to maintain international peace and security."

In the interests of international peace and security, we propose that the General Assembly initiate action to suspend Argentina from membership in the United Nations Organization.

This action is proposed on the score that:

1. The present regime in Argentina is a totalitarian government which has persistently and deliberately violated all obligations assumed under the United Nations Charter and the Chapultepec Agreement.

2. That its purpose is aggression.

When the representatives of the Perón-Farrell regime were admitted to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in April, 1945, no one was under any illusion about the character of the regime. It was known to be a military dictatorship, totalitarian in form and method. It was known that many Axis agents and much Axis wealth were finding a haven in Argentina.

The military dictatorship which Colonel Perón controls made its first bid for power when the government of President Castillo was overthrown by a military coup in June, 1943.

In February, 1944, one month after the government of General Ramirez had announced a break of relations with Germany and Japan in accordance with the Rio de Janeiro agreement of 1942, power was seized by General Edelmiro J. Farrell and Colonel Juan D. Perón. According to a Bulletin of the United States State Department issued on July 26, 1944, extremist pro-Axis elements forced the change in government. The Farrell-Perón regime refused to implement the break with the Axis. Instead; Axis agents and spies arrested by the Ramirez regime were released, and affirmative assistance was given to Axis business concerns both through large government contracts and through the requisitioning of materials from firms friendly to the democratic cause.

Pro-Axis newspapers enjoyed official support and assistance in obtaining newsprint, and carried on a bitter propaganda campaign against the United Nations and for the Axis.

These charges are made officially by the State Department of the United States. As a result of Argentina's acts the United States and all Latin American republics withdrew diplomatic recognition from the Farrell-Perón regime in 1944.

On January 11, 1945, another State Department Bulletin declared:

> Argentina is being used as a base for intensive Axis subversive activities directed against the American continent and the United Nations. . . . Axis diplomatic officials were flagrantly abusing the principles between civilized nations. . . . These diplomats had organized and were directing, financing, and coordinating the activities of different groups or cells of agents, and it was also shown that diplomatic channels were being used for the transmission of information to the High Command in Berlin.

Although Argentina was not present at the Chapultepec conference, every effort was made to secure its subsequent agreement to the proposals accepted there. When, on March 27, Argentina finally grudgingly declared war, it was notable that the declaration was made first against Japan, and second against Nazi Germany, on the ground that Germany was an ally of Japan.

When, on April 4, the Farrell-Perón regime signed the Chapultepec Agreement it was hoped that at long last hemispheric solidarity might be achieved. On the basis of this hope, and in the belief that in exchange for membership in the victorious United Nations the Argentine government would adhere to its pledge, the United States delegation at San Francisco took the initiative in urging and obtaining the admission of Argentina to the United Nations on April 30, 1945.

Nine months have now passed since the San Francisco conference. During this period Germany has been defeated in Europe and Japan in the Far East. During this period, too, the Farrell-Perón regime has become an outright totalitarian government, fashioned in the image of Nazi Germany with Perón the undisputed dictator. Deliberately and brazenly it has violated the Agreement of Chapultepec and the United Nations Charter.

The entire country is being mobilized for war; more than

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50 per cent of the national budget has been allocated to military purposes.

Children of both sexes, from the age of twelve on, are subject to military training.

Civil liberties have been suppressed.

Education has been regimented.

The democratic press has been intimidated or destroyed.

Freedom of labor has been destroyed, and important labor unions have been converted into puppet organizations.

More recently the Perón regime, adopting the scapegoat strategy of the Nazis, has made anti-Semitism an integral part of its program.

A police Gestapo under the direction of Perón and his satellites now supplements the army. The concentration camp and the torture chamber have become everyday instruments of internal control.

While the population of Argentina is suffering cruel oppression and the denial of fundamental freedoms, important Nazi agents continue to find protection, and Axis business and Axis schools flourish.

Following the pattern of his Nazi masters, Perón is now planning to obtain so-called "legal" sanction for his totalitarian rule by a presidential election scheduled to be held on February 24, 1946. The outcome of this election can be forecast today. The democratic parties are making a courageous and united stand against Perón's candidacy, but the government controls the police, the military, and the electoral machinery.

THE NAZI-FASCIST PATTERN

AT NUERNBERG an Allied tribunal is conducting the trial as war criminals of leaders of the Nazi Party and their military satellites. The principal charges against them are crimes against humanity and crimes against the peace. The indictment presented by Presiding Judge Robert H. Jackson emphasizes that the first act of the Nazi Party was to acquire totalitarian control of Germany in order to carry out its objectives.

In the following pages we present evidence of the extent to which the Perón regime, patterning its acts after the Nazi model, has already gone in its preparations for war and in the furtherance of its totalitarian aims.

Preparations for War

The philosophical basis for the war policy of the Perón government was set forth in June, 1944, by Colonel Perón himself in a speech at La Plata University, in which he stated that "war is an inevitable social phenomenon," and that "all other activities must be subordinated to the purpose of national defense—not simply by the armed forces of the nation, but through the subordination of all government departments, private institutions, and the entire people." He continued:

> Throughout the ages there have lived philosophers—and I will not hesitate to call them Utopians—who have stated that it is possible to avoid war. Always within a short space of time some new conflagration has broken out to disprove this theory. . . .
>
> The concept of "the nation in arms" or "total war" which was expounded by Marshal von der Goltz in 1883 is in a certain sense the most modern theory of national defense by which nations direct in time of peace as in time of war every living force within the state in order to attain a political objective. . . .
>
> It is essential that all the intellectuals of our nation, whatever may be their particular field, should study and understand war, realizing it to be the only means of solving a situation we may be called upon to face, should God one day decide that war must reach the borders of our country. . . .
>
> If diplomacy is unable to procure the desired political objectives, then it is imperative to be prepared to do so by force, whenever the situation compels the use of such extreme methods. . . .

He then summarized as follows the points he had made:

1. War is an inevitable social phenomenon.
2. All so-called peaceful nations, and among them our own, if they desire peace must prepare themselves for war.
3. The problem of national defense of the Fatherland is one to which all activities must be subordinated. National defense cannot be improvised at the moment that war is at our door, but requires many years of constant and conscientious preparation. It cannot be regarded as a problem for the armed forces only, but must be established through the harmonious integrated work of the different government agencies, private institutions, and all the people of Argentina, whatever may be their particular sphere of work. National defense gives rise to such enormous problems requiring profound professional knowledge that no single person can be absolved from taking part. Finally, whatever demands it may make on us represent contributions to the glory of our nation and the happiness of our people.

In line with this position, on November 17, 1944, a new organic Law of the Army was announced compelling all Argentine citizens to prepare for the defense of their country. While conscription for active military duty applies only to males, girls and women are to be prepared for service in the army in various women's auxiliary corps. Military training for men falls into three periods—pre-conscription, conscription, and post-conscription. Pre-conscription begins at the age of twelve and continues until the age of twenty, when conscription starts for a maximum of two years. Upon their discharge all males are subject to post-conscription until the age of fifty.

During the year 1945 the military budget of the Argentine government was five times as great as that of 1942, the year before the Perón-Farrell revolution. As the declaration of war against the Axis in April, 1945, a month before the cessation of hostilities in Europe, was purely symbolical, no legitimate justification for this huge increase in military expenditures can be offered. For the year 1946, presumably a

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year of peace, the Perón regime has passed appropriations for military expenditures approximating 50 per cent of its entire budget. This at a time when the national deficit is mounting and many other department budgets have been cut, notably the National Board of Education.

As a supplementary arm, a nation-wide secret service and police force of over 30,000 has been established in the past year, with functions parallel to those of the Gestapo and Storm Troops in Nazi Germany.

The neighboring republics of Chili and Uruguay live in constant fear of acts of aggression. Paraguay and Bolivia are already under the domination of Argentina.

"The size of the standing army has been increased, and military construction along Argentina's frontiers with Chili, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay is greater than ever before. New barracks have been built in frontier areas, most of them by German companies which were on the Allied black list because of Nazi connections," according to Joseph Newman in the New York *Herald Tribune* of January 10, 1946.

On January 29, 1945, Gabriel Gonzalez, Chilian ambassador to Brazil, charged the Perón regime with having as its principal objective a war on the continent and warned that Chili would be its first victim.

In October of 1945, Dr. Juan Antonio Rios, President of Chili, during a visit to New York, corroborated the fears of the threat against Chili.

The government of the United States is presumed to have in its possession information concerning shipments of arms by the Perón regime into neighboring republics to "provoke revolutions" for the establishment of regimes favorable to the present Argentine government.

Indicating knowledge of the aggressive intentions of the Perón regime, Dean Acheson, as Acting Secretary of State of the United States, on October 4, 1945, announced: "In view of recent developments in Argentina, the United States government does not feel that it can properly negotiate or sign with the present Argentine regime a treaty of military assistance."

That this is still the attitude of the United States government was confirmed by Acting Secretary of State Acheson in a public statement on January 11, 1946.

The Totalitarian Character of the Regime and Its Methods of Terror

As far back as July 26, 1944, the State Department of the United States publicly characterized the Farrell-Perón regime as totalitarian. In a Bulletin issued that day the State Department declared:

> The dominant power in Argentina was and continues to be in the hands of pro-Axis elements determined to impose their desires. Furthermore, it is significant that these same elements control the most important ministries and agencies of the national government, as well as the governments of the provinces, and have rapidly and energetically implanted a dominant totalitarian system that fully complements and supports their pro-Axis foreign policy through control of the press, the courts, and other key institutions. The basic civil rights have been either nullified or so modified as to have no real meaning. Every effort was made to stamp out democratic opposition to the government's totalitarian program.

The seizure of power by Perón on October 18, 1945, served only to advance the development of the totalitarian system in Argentina. How a program of repression and intimidation has been carried out in torture chambers by methods borrowed from the Nazis and applied by a Gestapo, trained by leading operatives of Himmler, was described by John White, one of the most informed writers on Latin America, in an article appearing in *The Nation* of March 3, 1945.

Declaring that the Gestapo's barbaric use of torture had been transplanted to the Western Hemisphere, Mr. White charged that soon after the Farrell-Perón regime came to power, Gestapo agents from Germany expanded a city detective bureau in Buenos Aires into a great national organization specializing in persecution and torture. "This organization," he said, "has set up concentration camps for political prisoners similar to those in Nazi Germany, tortured thousands of victims guilty of nothing more serious than belonging to labor unions or democratic political parties, killed or caused the death of hundreds of people bearing Jewish, Polish, or Russian names, and caused the disappearance of other hundreds."

In describing the techniques used, he said that diplomatic agents of United Nations governments had sent information corroborating the use of these techniques to their home governments:

> The "electric spur" is the favorite instrument of the new school of native sadists who have been trained by Gestapo experts. It is a simple electric cable with several fine steel needles at the end. These electric needles are applied to the most sensitive parts of the naked body, such as the eyelids, the sexual organs, and the rectum. The torture usually is applied at two or more parts of the body simultaneously and has such terriffic effect on the entire nervous system that it frequently produces insanity. In less extreme cases it paralyzes the muscles and causes great painful swellings and deep sores. It is persistently reported that at least five thousand people in Argentina have been tortured with the electric spur.
>
> A simpler but equally effective method is to jab long hatpins through the testicles. Another frequent "treatment" subjects political prisoners, women as well as men, to a third degree in which their naked bodies are burned with lighted cigarettes in an effort to force them to answer questions the way the police want them answered.
>
> The "cup" is a device in the form of a funnel which is pressed against the body and from which the air is then pumped out. The resulting vacuum causes a huge swelling inside the cup and draws the blood to the surface, leaving a large black-and-blue sore. This device is used on prisoners known to be suffering from heart ailments. When applied in the region of the heart it aggravates the affection and often causes death from "heart failure."
>
> The "bucket" is a huge vat filled with urine and excrement. The prisoner who is given this "treatment" is hung by his feet from the ceiling and then lowered until his head is submerged in the contents of the vat. This particular technique has the attraction of producing two forms of torture at the same time—semi-drowning in filth, and

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congestion of the brain from the downward flow of the blood.

One form of torture makes use of a familiar office appliance. In many European and South American countries letters, contracts, and other business documents are written in copying ink and preserved in duplicate by being put between the pages of a "copybook" which is then squeezed between iron plates. The Argentine political police have found this office press a convenient method of smashing the fingers of prisoners who refuse to sign certain declarations.

The "slab" is a torture machine made of two huge sheets of steel. The victim is placed between the sheets, which are pressed together gradually until he suffers internal hemorrhages and vomits blood.

The "whip" and the "rod" have been seen in the movies. The long leather whip is usually dipped in water before the lashes are applied; the rod is made of fine steel bars that cut into the flesh like knives.

Professional boxers are employed to beat up certain prisoners since they know how to produce the desired effect without leaving telltale wounds.

One highly refined form of mental torture drives the prisoner almost to the point of insanity without actually causing any physical hurt. The victim usually is awakened at two or three o'clock in the morning and told that he is to be executed by a firing squad. He is then "taken for a ride" in an automobile, accompanied by two or three guards armed with rifles and obviously members of the firing squad. Finally he is stood against a wall and the firing squad is lined up, but at the last minute he is reprieved and taken back to his cell. . . .

Sometimes as a variation a prisoner who is to be released is "taken for a ride" in an automobile, accompanied by armed guards. When the automobile gets to a deserted region outside the city, the prisoner is told that he is at liberty. Being familiar with the famous *ley de fuga* by which prisoners are shot while supposedly trying to escape, he stands there afraid to move and under mental torture that may induce insanity.

La razzia is an importation from the Sicilian Black Hand societies and is used for intimidating the opposition, especially the working classes. Gangs of armed thugs terrorize entire neighborhoods by breaking into and wrecking houses and by storming meetings of associations and trade unions, beating up those present and destroying the furniture and fixtures on the pretext that the meeting is plotting against the government. Schools, libraries, and newspaper offices have been raided frequently, and on two occasions movie theaters in Buenos Aires were stormed while crowded with people.

Even when they are not tortured, political prisoners are demoralized and intimidated by being subjected to what is popularly known as *el mal trato*. Women of the working class, especially wives and daughters who have refused to testify against their husbands and fathers, are put into cells with prostitutes and women criminals. They are not permitted visits from their families or from a lawyer; nor can they receive decent food from outside the jail.

The *mal trato* is applied to men prisoners in even worse form. If they are ill they usually are sent to regions where it is certain that their illness will get worse. They are given very poor food or deprived for entire days of anything to eat or drink. They receive no medical attention and may be put into cells with criminals of the lowest order.

So many lawyers have been punished for defending political prisoners in Argentina that it is practically impossible now for prisoners to find lawyers, except the ones who occasionally are assigned as "defense lawyers" by the government.

Suppression of Civil Liberties

In the agreements reached at Chapultepec the American states:

1. Reiterate and fervently adhere to the democratic principles which they consider essential for the peace of America.

2. Declare that "the purpose of the state is the happiness of man in society; the interests of the community should be harmonized with the rights of the individual; the American man cannot conceive of living without justice just as he cannot conceive of living without liberty."

3. Proclaim "the adherence of the American republics to the principles established by international law for safeguarding the essential rights of man and declare their support of a system of international protection of these rights."

In possession of the military and backed by a police Gestapo and a civilian army of bureaucrats, the Perón regime since its admission to the United Nations Conference has proceeded systematically to destroy the rights of its own citizens, in defiance of elementary principles of human decency and in violation of its commitments under the Chapultepec Agreement and the United Nations Charter.

On May 3, 1945, the police deliberately charged and opened fire on unarmed citizens celebrating the fall of Berlin.

On August 15 similar assaults were committed by the police on persons celebrating the Japanese surrender.

On August 16 crowds of soldiers commanded by non-commissioned officers terrorized the center of the city, killed two citizens, and wounded many others. They laid siege to the building of the pro-democratic paper *Critica*, which they attempted to set on fire. Cheering Hitler, Mussolini, and Perón and shouting "Death to the Jews," soldiers were permitted to commit their outrages without any interference from the police. Dr. Alberto M. Candioti, former Argentine ambassador to Mexico, says that the rioting soldiers told him they were obeying "superior orders."

On August 18 Colonel Perón announced that civil war was the only solution to the situation existing in the Argentine. In an interview with Dr. Pedro Cue, director of the Cuban daily *El Mundo*, Perón declared: "I do not fear civil war because I am prepared for it. I have at my disposal 300,000 soldiers and 4,000,000 workers armed with clubs."

On September 27, 1945, there were wholesale arrests of prominent citizens guilty only of signing declarations in favor of freedom. Among them were editors of liberal papers, political leaders opposed to the Perón regime, and ordinary citizens who had expressed a belief in democracy. Perón himself went to the Buenos Aires jail to look over the prisoners. Included among those arrested were three of the six rectors of Argentina's national universities.

On October 7 the police charged a crowd near a cemetery paying homage to a nineteen-year-old student killed in a clash between university students and supporters of Perón. In a wholesale lockup 1,594 students were arrested, including

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149 girls. The University of Buenos Aires was closed, its president and executive officers dismissed. Six professors were also taken into custody.

On October 21, 1945, Arnaldo Cortesi, writing in the New York *Times*, declared:

> Argentina again is witnessing the shameful spectacle of citizens being obliged to find protection against their own government in foreign embassies. The Peruvian embassy, for instance, has taken in several persons, including former Federal Judge Ramón S. Vasquez who filed a complaint in court against the police for having tortured political prisoners. In the Uruguayan embassy, along with others, are former Foreign Minister José Maria Cantilo and the family of Rear Admiral Leonardo MacLean. . . . Several newspapers were attacked in various parts of Argentina, as were also some private homes, such as that of Dr. Alfredo Calcagno, rector of La Plata University. In some industrial districts of Avellaneda anyone who appeared in the streets wearing a tie was subject to assault. In Cordoba the offices of the Argentine North American Cultural Institute were stoned while police looked on without interfering.

On December 9 a mass-meeting of the Democratic Union (a coalition of four political parties, including the Radicals, Socialists, and Communists) comprising between 150,000 and 200,000 persons assembled to hear speakers urge the defeat of Perón in the presidential election. It was fired upon; and two persons were killed and sixty seriously injured. The shooting, according to the New York *Herald Tribune* of that date, was supposedly intended to stampede the throng and break up the meeting.

On December 19 Norah Pines reported in the New York *Post:*

> Supporters of Colonel Perón were urged to release a wave of terrorism to insure his election, and if he lost to put the country on fire, in a speech by Dr. Federico Cantoni, political boss of San Juan Province and one of Perón's top advisers. Dr. Cantoni threatened that should Perón lose the elections, "we will paralyze the country with one strike after another as long as it is necessary to impose our will."

The extent to which the elementary rights of man have been subverted in the Argentine was described by Spruille Braden on August 29 in his farewell speech in Buenos Aires prior to his return to the United States. He declared:

> One by one there appear all the elements used by fascism in its stupid stratagems since the day of the so-called March on Rome. Subversion and disorder organized by the government itself and using paid assassins under an honorable disguise, utilization of coercion by the state not to suppress but to protect subversion, bragging by the coward who attacks those he believes fallen but who humbles himself before the powerful, calculated and underhanded use of violent methods, cunning maneuvering showing false respect for established norms and launching an attack while hiding its origin, violation of the law of hospitality which forbids any treacherous attack on him who is sheltered under the same roof, practice of the so-called "tactics of confusion," . . . use of intimidation and threats against the precise persons whom that government was under obligation to protect and respect. . . .

On October 27, after his appointment as Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Latin American affairs, Mr. Braden said: "The Argentine regime is just as fascist as any which existed in Germany and Japan." And the following day, he amplified that statement by declaring:

> The state of siege recently imposed on Argentina by Perón is the negation of that very Bill of Rights for the preservation of which we have fought this and other wars. In more concrete terms, a state of siege permits swaggering officers to beat any peaceful citizen because he refuses to hail the leader. It permits a hoodlum with brass knuckles to strike the face of a young girl because she cries "Long live democracy!" It permits arrests without charge; it permits saber-wielding mounted police to ride down men, women, and children.

In the city of Buenos Aires the normal police force of 8,000 to 9,000 has been increased to more than 30,000, and according to Police Commissioner Velazco, the men "would rather charge a crowd than eat." Campo de Mayo, once Argentina's most powerful garrison, with a peak force of 27,000 men, has been reduced to a complement of 6,000 or less, and the security authority has been turned over to Velazco. This is attested by a report in the *Inter-American* of January, 1946.

Another army of supporters of the Perón regime is found in the civil-service bureaucracy, which in the three years since the dictatorship was established has been increased from 172,000 to 250,000. This means that more and more persons are dependent for their livelihood on those who control the state. The increase in civil-service employees has been matched by wholesale dismissals of government employees who do not sympathize with Colonel Perón's methods, according to a report in the New York *Herald Tribune* of December 29, 1945.

Regimentation of Education

The signatories to the Chapultepec Act agreed:

1. To recommend to the governments of the American republics the most careful deletion from the official textbooks used in their schools of everything which might tend to jeopardize the inter-American system.

2. To recommend to the governments of the American republics that they exercise the greatest vigilance to see that the teachings in their schools are based on the principles of freedom, peace, justice, and equality that are found in the bases of the inter-American system.

3. To recommend to the governments of the American republics the deletion from official textbooks used in their schools of everything which sustains directly or indirectly racial or totalitarian theories or which might therefore be susceptible of compromising the friendly relations between the states of the continent.

The regimentation of the education of the Argentinian population is part of the program of the Perón regime.

In the primary schools of the country children are taught to copy and discuss the following phrases in accordance with a ruling of the Ministry of Justice and Public Instruction, from the text of which we quote in part:

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Women to procreate heroes—not to be mothers of renegades.

Argentine woman must fulfil faithfully her natural obligations.

To be worthy of our traditions we must live arrogantly.

We are a liberating nation and therefore have the right to carry out correction in Latin America.

To be an Argentine does not mean pacifism, speculation, or anything literary; it means one must be dynamic.

The extent to which the Perón regime has attempted to regiment the higher institutions of education can be judged by the fact that on September 29, 1945, all six national universities decided to suspend their activities as a protest against the unprecedented wave of oppression.

On October 5 this act of defiance was countered by the police, which stormed and took by force the University of La Plata, imprisoning 315 unarmed students. Following this act the government prepared a decree dismissing all university presidents and replacing them by so-called government interventors.

On October 8, according to the New York *Times*, the police themselves reported that some 2,100 students were being held in jail. According to this report five or six rectors of the universities, many deans of faculties, and dozens of university professors had passed some time in jail during the previous two weeks.

On December 5 the New York *Herald Tribune* reported that students of the University of Buenos Aires refused to take their annual examinations as a protest against the Perón regime. The only students reporting for the examinations were a handful belonging to the anti-democratic Nationalist faction.

While regimenting its own educational system, the Argentine regime has permitted Japanese and German schools to continue unmolested. All but 9 of the 200 German schools and all but 1 of the 16 Japanese schools continue to function. As a token of its adherence to the Act of Chapultepec, the government has dismissed 27 foreign teachers.

Suppression of Freedom of the Press

The Charter of Chapultepec recommended:

1. That the American republics recognize their essential obligation to guarantee to their people free and impartial access to sources of information.

2. That having this guaranty in view they undertake upon the conclusion of the war the earliest possible abandonment of those measures of censorship . . . which have been necessary in war time. . . .

3. That the governments of the American republics take measures, individually and in cooperation with one another, to promote a free exchange of information among their peoples.

4. That the American republics . . . make every effort to the end that when a juridical order in the world is assured, there may be established the principle of free transmission and reception of information, oral or written, published in books or by the press, broadcast by radio, or disseminated by any other means, under proper responsibility and without need of previous censorship, as is the case with private correspondence . . . in time of peace.

The Perón regime has imposed direct and indirect censorship upon the democratic press of the country. It has arrested editors and arbitrarily suspended the publication of opposition papers. It has harried foreign correspondents.

Police maintain a strict supervision to make certain that nothing in opposition to the Perón regime is published.

For their refusal to obey orders hundreds of provincial papers throughout the country have been suspended and their editors jailed.

In addition to silencing published opposition, the Perón representatives function actively to insure that every statement by the government is published.

Typical of the brutality and intentions of the Perón regime is the fashion by which it acquired the support of *Critica*, a pro-democratic evening newspaper with a circulation of between 200,000 and 250,000. On October 18, 1945, 5,000 armed supporters of Perón, accompanied by 100 policemen and supported by four armored cars, attacked the paper. The assailants poured lead into the *Critica* office, according to the New York *Herald Tribune*, for two hours. The police then took over, arrested sixty-six employees, and closed the paper. A week later *Critica* was permitted to resume publication but was told, "either cooperate or be destroyed."

Raul Damonte Taborda, publisher of *Critica*, was dismissed through a legal action, and the operation of the newspaper was turned over to an official interventor after Mrs. Salvadora Medina Onrubia de Botana, who inherited the enterprise from her husband, had decided to make peace with Perón. The interventor took over in an official ceremony after midnight attended by Mrs. Botana and representatives of Peron.

Foreign correspondents have been subjected to intimidation. On July 2 Joseph Newman, correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune*, took refuge in the American embassy because of threats made by telephone by a man claiming to be Captain Moretti of the Ministry of War.

The United States had to intervene officially with the Argentine Foreign Office because of the coercion exercised upon John Nasht of *Newsweek*. Before permitting him to leave the country the Perón government tried to force Mr. Nasht to sign a statement saying that his cabled material had been incorrect.

The Associated Press, the United Press, and the International News Service on various occasions were informed that all their dispatches would be censored. Early in October the censorship was lifted, but only after a strong official protest to the Argentine Foreign Ministry by the United States government.

In contrast is the permission granted for the publication of a new German language newspaper, *Freie Presse*, on December 1. The editor of the new publication is Herr Müller, an Austrian, for many years on the editorial staff of the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, a Nazi-controlled paper.

As late as September, 1945, moreover, pro-Nazi publications such as *Junges Volk*, organ of the Hitler Youth, *Teutonia*, and the *Herold* were still operating.

On January 17, 1946, the American embassy in Buenos Aires released a number of documents showing Nazi con-

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nections with Argentine government officials and the government's partial control of the Nazi press.

The story, as recounted in the New York *Herald Tribune*, shows how the Nazi-subsidized press serves now to push Perón's candidacy for the Presidency. The *Herald Tribune* dispatch follows:

BUENOS AIRES, Jan. 17.—The American embassy in Buenos Aires released to the press today part of a quantity of documents discovered by American authorities in Berlin, proving Nazi connections with Argentine government officials and Nazi control over part of the Argentine press which at present supports Colonel Juan Perón for President.

On authorization from the State Department, John Moors Cabot, American chargé d'affaires, made public thirteen of four hundred German documents which were sent here from Washington. They consist of "top secret" telegrams sent between March 9, 1942, and July 6, 1943, to the Foreign Office in Berlin by Otto Meynen, then chargé d'affaires in the German embassy in Buenos Aires.

The telegrams reveal the clandestine links between the Germany embassy and a number of Argentine newspapers, including *El Pampero, Cabildo, El Pueblo, Ahora,* and the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung.* They explain how these Nazi propaganda organs got newsprint despite the efforts of the United Nations, in accordance with the Rio de Janeiro resolutions, to prevent their getting it. They also disclose how the German embassy used these organs to influence Argentine internal political affairs.

The first telegram asked the German government for authorization to spend 73,450 reichmarks monthly to subsidize these papers (the mark was worth about 40 American cents at the time). The greatest amount, 42,000 marks, went to *Pampero.* Directors and members of the staff of *Pampero* now publish *La Epoca,* Colonel Perón's principal political organ.

Three thousand marks were allocated to *El Pueblo.* Asked by reporters why *El Pueblo* was never placed on the Allied black list with other Nazi organs, Mr. Cabot explained that it was also the principal organ of the Roman Catholic church in Argentina, and was kept off the black list out of deference to the church.

The second telegram shows payments and relations established by the German embassy with Andi, an Argentine news agency which the Argentine military government selected last year as its official government news agency but later abandoned as a result of public opposition. The telegram says, "Andi was induced by the embassy to place press agents in the Ibero-American countries who are obligated to send the regular press survey down here. In this way the embassy could receive material and political information which goes beyond the North American agency reports."

A third telegram disclosed plans to continue distribution of Nazi material to Argentine newspapers in the event of a rupture of diplomatic relations between Argentina and Germany. It suggested the embassy "leave certain sums of money behind in loyal hands." This correspondent was informed that Ludwig Freude, one of the principal Nazi agents in Argentina and now one of Perón's close collaborators, was one of the men in whose "loyal hands" the German embassy left money.

Antonio Delfino, who resigned only two months ago as director of the Argentine National Bank, a government-controlled institution, was named as the man with whom arrangements were to be made for the transfer of funds to Argentina from neutral countries. He was president of the Hamburg American Shipping Line and is a known Nazi agent.

Fulvio N. Cravacuore was named as the agent to whom religious material was to be sent for *El Pueblo.* Cravacuore is now one of the principal writers for *Democracia,* one of Perón's new newspapers.

Another document revealed the German embassy's relations with Manuel Fresco, former Governor of Buenos Aires Province. It said, "Fresco has just come directly to the embassy with a concrete proposal for the creation of a new popular morning newspaper, *La Tribuna,* and asked for a financial contribution for the purchase of newsprint that allegedly will be furnished to him by President Castillo."

This Nazi organ actually appeared under the name of *Cabildo* and assumed the name of *La Tribuna* only recently, after *Cabildo* was suppressed by the present regime in its attempt to show its support for the United Nations. *Cabildo* was described as a paper "oriented to the support of the governmental policy of Castillo and the maintenance of Argentine neutrality."

Suppression of Labor Unions

The American republics agreed at Chapultepec to collaborate for the attainment of "a constructive basis for the sound economic development of the Americas through the development of natural resources, industrialization, improvement of transportation, and the improvement of labor standards and working conditions, including collective bargaining, all leading to a rising level of living and increased consumption."

Further, they resolved "to consider of international public interest the enacting by all the American republics of social legislation that will protect the working class and that will embody guaranties as well as rights on a scale not inferior to the one recommended by the International Labor Office.

On October 31, 1945, the International Labor Office, then meeting in conference, refused to admit the Argentine workers' delegate and his adviser, Juan Rodriguez and Manuel E. Pichel. The reason given was that the Argentine government "was a de facto war government that had established a state of siege in the country, suppressed essential human liberties and rights that are incorporated in the ILO's constitution, and deprived trade unions of freedom of action and even of their leaders. Under present conditions workers' organizations in the Argentine Republic do not enjoy freedom of association, freedom of action, or freedom of speech."

Rodriguez, it was subsequently disclosed, is a paid employee of the Secretariat of Labor, a branch of the government established by Colonel Perón.

The attempt to take over the labor unions was begun by Colonel Perón in 1943 when he served as Labor Under Secretary. At that time he began a general reorganization which, following Nazi lines, has had as its objective to win the political support of the working masses, especially the unorganized and unskilled.

The fashion in which this was done was described in the New York *Herald Tribune* of December 26, 1945, by Joseph Newman, Buenos Aires correspondent of that paper:

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It was not an accident that the first office which Perón himself created and directed after reaching the government was the Secretariat of Labor and Social Welfare. This was actually a new ministry, but was not so described because the constitution limits the number of ministries to eight and the government was not yet ready to flout the constitution openly.

From the Secretariat of Labor Perón began to convert the purely military revolution into a National Socialist revolution. He was aware of the great poverty which prevailed among the masses, despite the agricultural wealth of Argentina. The great landowners who ruled Argentina through their conservative party up to 1943 did less than they might have done to raise the economic and educational level of the Argentine population. . . .

Like Hitler and Mussolini, Perón began to agitate the working masses, making them conscious of their poverty and of the disproportionate wealth of their employers. He did this through branches of the Labor Secretariat which were established in cities, towns, and villages throughout the country. His propaganda agents turned out literature by the tons, and Perón himself made hundreds of speeches in person and over the state radio urging industrial and farm workers to unite behind him for a better deal. To factory workers he promised more pay, better working conditions, and paid vacations. To peons and exploited agricultural workers he promised some of the rich lands of the wealthy landowners. . . .

As part of the Secretariat of Labor he established a National Agrarian Council, which is preparing to divide up big estates and turn them over to the workers. As in the Axis countries his Labor Secretariat organized government-controlled unions which all workers were urged to join. Independent unions which refused to submit to government control were suppressed and their leaders were jailed.

As a result of internal and external pressure independent unions were permitted recently to resume restricted activities. Though these unions may have succeeded in regaining control of most of the 500,000 organized workers, no one knows the extent of the influence and control which Perón has secured over the 2,500,000 unorganized workers.

On September 13, 1945, police closed the headquarters of the Local Labor Union, comprising some 200,000 members, and arrested six of its leaders. The union included such independent labor groups as workers in construction, meat, textile, metallurgical, printing, shoemaking, restaurant, and associated industries.

Seven days later Colonel Perón issued a decree by which a general increase in wages was granted to workers and employees throughout the country.

Joseph Newman, writing in the New York *Herald Tribune* of December 21, characterized the measure as follows:

> It was clearly designed by its author to win the labor vote. From the point of view of the democratic opposition, it constitutes a form of veiled fraud by attempting to buy the labor vote almost on the eve of the election through the official device of ordering all-around increases of 30 per cent in the annual income of the working class. This involves many millions of pesos, which, in political terms, amount to forced contributions by employers to Perón's campaign.

Such independent union groups as are still able to function are supporting the Democratic Union's opposition to Perón.

Anti-Semitic Program

At Chapultepec it was also resolved:

1. To reaffirm the principle, recognized by all the American states, of equality of rights and opportunities for all men, regardless of race or religion.

2. To recommend that the governments of the American republics, without jeopardizing freedom of expression, either oral or written, make every effort to prevent in their respective countries all acts which may provoke discrimination among individuals because of race or religion.

The Perón regime has recently instituted, in its emulation of the Nazi pattern, a program of terror against the Jews. On October 20, 1945, the return of Colonel Perón to power was signalized by anti-Semitic riots which were described by Joseph Newman in the New York *Herald Tribune:*

> Bands of Peronistas celebrating the victory of their leader entered the extensive Jewish quarter of Buenos Aires and stoned individuals, homes, and buildings. With the tacit approval of police they engaged Jewish youths in fist fights and shouted offensive slogans. Carrying Argentine flags and posters bearing portraits of Perón, the Peronistas cried: "Death to the Jews! Viva Perón!" Police stood by, permitting the bands to go about their work in freedom. Some were seen giving the Peronistas a lift in police cars from one block to another.
>
> As the streets were deserted, the Peronistas shouted: "Jews, come out and fight!" They approached the synagogue on Paso Street with rocks in their hands and were intercepted by a group of Jewish boys who engaged the band in a fist fight and dispersed it. Another group entered the basement of the synagogue and arrested twenty of the defenders. These were later released, but this is believed to be the first time police have violated the immunity of a religious edifice in Argentina.
>
> Peronistas attempted to stone *El Diario Israelita*, a Yiddish newspaper which was closed by the military regime when President Pedro Ramirez was in power and permitted to reopen after a vigorous denunciation by President Roosevelt.
>
> Another clash occurred in front of the Jewish bank, called Banco Industrial, the walls of which were painted with slogans such as "Death to the Jews. Viva Perón!" On Avenida de Mayo, the principal avenue, the following inscription can still be seen painted on the sidewalk: "Kill a Jew and be a patriot." In Plaza de Mayo, where Peronistas had staged a mass demonstration and had been addressed by their leaders the previous night, impromptu speakers harangued small groups with speeches blaming Jews for all the ills of the country and of the world.

On November 25 a new attack on the Jewish quarter was made by 30,000 of Colonel Perón's supporters. Reporting the episode Arnaldo Cortesi declared in the New York *Times:*

> Anti-Jewish disturbances of considerable gravity took place in Buenos Aires during the night after a meeting of 30,000 or so of Colonel Juan Perón's supporters invaded the Jewish quarter of the city, where they broke the signs of several Jewish-owned shops and insulted everyone in sight, attacking and brutally beating anyone who attempted to protest or defend himself. . . .
>
> The police, who were present in great force, stood by

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passively while the Jews who had been knocked to the ground were savagely kicked. Finally the police intervened, but only to arrest the victims instead of the perpetrators of these aggressions. Later the police raided a peaceful Jewish social club, pointing their revolvers at about one hundred persons inside. Then they arrested several of the club's officials and members for no apparent reason. . . .

The disturbances . . . have occurred with such regularity whenever large numbers of Peronistas have gathered that it is hardly possible to doubt any longer that anti-Semitism forms a part of Colonel Perón's political stock in trade. This circumstance is perhaps owing in part to the fact that he now has the support of a considerable section of the Nationalists, who adopted anti-Semitism along with many other ideals of clearly Nazi character.

Three days later, Cortesi reported again:

Several episodes of anti-Jewish hooliganism occurred last night after a relatively small crowd of former Vice-President Juan Perón's supporters had held demonstrations in the center of the city. . . . This time the attacks on Jews were carried out by small bands of about fifty young ruffians who entered the Jewish district shouting "Long Live Perón" and "Death to the Jews" and proceeded to damage property and to assault passers-by. More than thirty pistol shots were fired and some noise bombs were thrown. . . No casualties were reported.

The police took no effective measures against the assailants and eventually arrested one man who, judging by his name, is a Jew. . . . When it became known yesterday that a sudden meeting of Peronistas had been called, many Jews sought refuge away from their homes. Others barricaded themselves in their houses. The pro-Perón paper *Epoca* said today that the anti-Jewish demonstrations were staged by Colonel Perón's enemies, who thus planned to bring him into disrepute. . . . This suggestion is sufficiently disproved by the attitude of the police, which never showed mercy for Colonel Perón's opponents but stood passively by while Jews were being attacked.

On December 19 Dr. Federico Contini, one of Perón's top advisers, discussing the anti-Jewish demonstrations, declared in a speech: "It is a pity that a substantial number of Jews were not killed. It would have served to frighten the others."

On December 30, 1945, Joseph Newman, in the New York *Herald Tribune,* disclosed that the Committee against Racialism had discovered a plot which originated in police headquarters to stage a pogrom after planting bombs and leaflets in Perón's political offices and in Catholic churches, attributing them to the Jews. The plot was publicly denounced during the first week in December and therefore failed to materialize.

Perón Harbors Enemy Agents and Axis Businesses

The parties to the Act of Chapultepec further agreed:

1. To recommend that the governments of the American republics do not give refuge to individuals guilty of or responsible for or accomplices in the commission of such (war) crimes.

2. To recommend that the governments shall upon the demand of any of the United Nations . . . surrender individuals charged with the commission of such crimes to the United Nations making the request. . . .

3. To reaffirm the determination . . . to prevent individuals or groups within their respective jurisdictions from engaging in any activities fomented by the Axis powers or their satellites for the purpose of prejudicing the individual or collective security and welfare of the American republics:

a. To intensify efforts to eradicate the remaining centers of Axis subversive influence in the hemisphere. . . .

b. To take effective measures to prevent Axis-inspired elements from regaining or securing any vantage points within the territory subject to their respective jurisdictions from which such elements might disturb or threaten the security or welfare of any republic.

4. They resolved that measures be undertaken "to uncover, disclose, immobilize, and prevent the concealment or transfer of property and rights located within the American republics . . . which . . . whether or not in name belong to or are controlled by or for the benefit of Germany or Japan or individuals or entities within those countries.

Committed by the Act of Chapultepec and the UNO Charter to turn over enemy agents and to expose enemy holdings, the Perón government has done neither.

On November 30, 1945, Dr. Carlos Adrogue, secretary of the Committee for Vigilance and Liquidation of Enemy Property, resigned, accusing the Foreign Minister of unwarranted interference with the committee's work. The committee itself declared that the Foreign Minister had introduced a number of legal technicalities to prevent the liquidation of the Ricardo Staudt Company, chief Argentine operator in wool, with a capital of between forty and seventy million pesos. Its head, Ricardo Staudt, a German by birth, came to the Argentine in 1924 to avoid punishment for his criminal activities in Belgium during World War I and obtained Argentine citizenship. In 1941 Adolf Hitler conferred the Order of the Grand Eagle on him for his "outstanding services to the Nazi cause in Argentina." Counsel for Herr Staudt is the law firm of Cooke Brothers, of which Juan I. Cooke, Foreign Minister of Argentina, is a member. The fact that on January 8, 1946, Dr. Adrogue was kidnaped and beaten up by thugs seems more than a coincidence.

Colonel Perón himself has on various occasions intervened in behalf of top German industrialists, among them Ricardo Staudt, Ludwig Freude, and Fritz Mandl. Ludwig Freude is allegedly one of the key leaders in Nazi underground activities on the South American continent. Although on the United States and British black list, Freude's firm, Compañía General de Construcciones, early in 1945, had a contract with the Argenine government for twenty-two million pesos. In February, 1945, an investigating commission made an attempt to examine the books of Freude's company. Later an investigation of Freude's activities was ordered. This time Colonel Perón appealed personally to President Farrell, vouching unconditionally for Freude, with the result that the inquiries were suspended. Moreover, the report of the interrupted investigation of Freude was torn out of the minutes of the commission and destroyed on an order from Colonel Perón.

On October 26 the Commission for the Liquidation of

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Enemy Property determined to seize all the property of Ricardo Staudt on the ground that investigations showed that large funds had been transferred from his company to Germany during the war, and that he himself regarded Berlin as his headquarters. Staudt, warned in advance of the impending action, secured an injunction. The commission appealed to a higher court and resolved to proceed with its seizure. But this action was vetoed by Foreign Minister Cooke, with the result that Staudt is still in possession of his property. Staudt is alleged to be the principal financial backer, together with Fritz Mandl, of Perón's campaign for the Presidency.

On June 25 Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton, testifying before a subcommittee of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, declared that the Nazis' grandiose scheme for finding "safe haven" in neutral and other countries while preparing for another world war was a matter of grave concern to the Allies. He said that in Argentina, where 108 major Axis economic enterprises are known to be operating, not one of these Nazi spearheads had been wholly eliminated.

On November 5, 1945, Virginia Prewett, writing in *PM*, reported:

> Despite official assertions to the contrary, many known members of the Nazi economic spearheads are still operating in Argentina with perfect freedom and bright prospects for the future. . . . On September 11 the government officially reported that it was meeting its pledge, made at Chapultepec, to extirpate Nazi influence. However, only a little more than 50 per cent of the long list of German firms has been placed under government control. . . .
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> The Compañía General de Construcciones has continued operations with immunization from governmental interference. It is now working on fat government contracts and is bidding on others. . . . Its head is Ludwig Freude, who received the Cross of Merit from Adolf Hitler. . . . Among the contracts that the untouchable Freude has received from the Argentine government are: construction of a new military air base at Reconquista, 6,500,000 pesos; contracts for building military barracks in towns of Ezequiel, Juinin de los Andes, and San Martín de los Andes, 17,000,000 pesos. Freude is also constructing a government shipyard at Rio Santiago and a torpedo depot at Puerto Belgrano. . . . His company built the new big state hotel at Llao-Llao . . . where the German agent Hans Nobel—who also circulates freely—teaches Argentine high society how to ski. . . With the exception of two German banks and six insurance companies all the important German spearhead firms in Argentina still retain the titles to the businesses, which are now more flourishing than ever.
>
> Since the government's statement last September that it was "eliminating" Nazi-controlled business, the following German-owned firms have obtained government contracts: Wayass and Freytag, associated with a firm of the same name in Germany, signed a contract to do the concrete work on bridges 3, 4, 7, 8, and 11 at the new national airport . . . outside of Buenos Aires. Compañía General de Obras Públicas, which is a branch of the Philip Holtzman firm of Berlin, has signed for the concrete work on bridges 5, 6, and 16 at the same airport. Since the government statement the government has also received bids now under consideration for construction of state roads, etc., from the following: Compañía General de Construcciones, Wayass and Freytag, Compañía General de Obras Públicas, Siemens-Schuckert, Thyssen-Lamental, Grün and Bilfinger, and Calera Avellaneda.

As recently as December 6, 1945, Assistant Secretary of State Braden made new representations to Argentina because of its alleged failure to deport seventy-one Nazi agents.

On August 24, 1945, Nelson Rockefeller, former Assistant Secretary of State, and largely responsible for the admission of Argentina to the United Nations Organization, announced, five months after Argentina's declaration of war against the Axis:

> Of the 15 Japanese and 223 other persons investigated for Axis espionage, only 70 German agents are under arrest. There is very little if any control over the directors and officers of Axis firms and associations, and practically no progress in seeking out Axis individuals and assets which may be seeking refuge in Argentina and whose existence is therefore concealed.

On September 15, 1945, the New York *Times* declared that among the men released, thirty-three have definitely been identified as enemy agents. No enemy agent has been interned or deported. On that same day Spruille Braden, on the eve of his departure from Argentina for the United States, said, as reported in the New York *Times:*

> The Nazi element is still extremely dangerous. Unless it can be extirpated it will remain a serious threat for the future. I am not competent to state whether there will be an aggressive Germany again, but if there is to be one, then in my opinion the Nazis here in Argentina would be a spearhead against this hemisphere and the United States.

On October 20, 1945, Damonte Taborda, former chairman of the Argentine Committee on Subversive Activities, charged that the political upheaval in the Argentine was the result of a Nazi plot to regain military supremacy and world power. He also suggested the possibility that Nazi research on atomic power was continuing in Argentina.

Even arrested Axis espionage agents receive special treatment. Augustine Rodriguez Aray, a former Radical Party deputy held as a political prisoner by Perón for many months, in a formal charge to the Federal Court accused the police of aiding and abetting Axis espionage agents. He said that during his five months' stay in the Villa a de Vota prison in Buenos Aires Colonel Velazco's treatment of convicted Axis spies was so friendly, partial, and benevolent that they were allowed to continue their operations both outside and inside the prison. In their cells were short- and long-wave radio sets, photographs of Hitler, typewriters, and all the material they needed for their work, as well as ample stores of food. What is more, they were allowed to leave the prison without guard day and night, some remaining absent for as long as two days.

Conclusion

We submit that the actions of the Perón regime as cited above are identical in practice and purpose with the actions of the Nazi regime when Hitler came to power. The Nazi Party also began its war program by acquiring totalitarian control of the government and by instituting a terror against the opposition within Germany. From this point it proceeded systematically to apply the same methods against other coun-

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tries, conquering half of Europe bloodlessly and finally precipitating the war which has only just been concluded. The Perón regime, if left in power, will certainly launch a war in the Western Hemisphere.

On September 29, 1944, President Roosevelt discussed "the extraordinary paradox of the growth of the Nazi-Fascist influence and the increasing application of Nazi-Fascist methods in the Argentine." "The Argentine government," he said, "has repudiated solemn inter-American obligations on the basis of which the nations of this hemisphere developed a system of defense to meet the challenge of Axis aggression." He insisted that "unless we now demonstrate a capacity to develop a tradition of respect for such obligations among civilized nations, there can be little hope for a system of international security, theoretically created to maintain principles for which our peoples today are sacrificing to the limit of their resources."

On January 5, 1946, Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden, speaking on an official State Department broadcast, again branded the present regime in Argentina as Nazi, and explained its ability to stay in power in the following terms:

> They have the police, an important section of the army, armed action groups, and a typically National Socialist program, not excluding the old formula of bread and circuses for the millions. Following recognized Nazi tactics, they secure control of certain strategic labor unions, take over the transportation facilities and a few important unions. With the help of the police you can control a nation.

We submit that the United Nations, in proof of its intention to protect world peace, should act at the earliest possible moment to brand the Perón regime as an enemy of peace and security and as such to suspend it from the United Nations. Such an undertaking by the UNO is clearly an act of self-protection which will be supported by freedom-loving peoples everywhere.

The millions of casualties of World War II should guard the conscience of the world against a new appeasement. The time to act is now.

"THE IMPOSSIBLE CANDIDATE"

[*To supplement the Memorandum of The Nation Associates, we publish below a manifesto by the Argentine Committee of Democratic Lawyers which has just reached us from Buenos Aires.*]

THE Committee of Democratic Lawyers, in accordance with its principle of struggling for constitutional rule and its avowed purpose of orienting public opinion on present problems of government, believes it necessary to examine more closely the personality of the Impossible Candidate. . . .

Article 16 of the constitution provides that candidates for public office must be fit to hold such office. The Impossible Candidate does not fulfil this requirement in view of irrefutable proofs of his ties with Nazism. It is easy to demonstrate the complete parallel that exists between Hitler and the Impossible Candidate: identical philosophies, methods, aims, and spontaneous reactions. . . .

Both initiated their programs with strong condemnations of the previous governments. Hitler said: "The National Socialist revolution has overthrown a republic of treason and falsehood and replaced it with a government of honor, loyalty, and decency ("My New Order," p. 193). The Impossible Candidate says: "The revolution of June 4 has an ideal and a reality which will transform the political, economic, and social picture of Argentina. From it will emerge a whole new political process. Until now everything has been distorted—liberty, citizenship, administrative functions, justice, and morals" ("Discursos," Ed. Of.; p. 206). . . .

Hitler headed the "Workers' Party" ("Mein Kampf," vol. I; p. 215); the Impossible Candidate has founded the "Labor Party" (Partido Laborista). Both maintain that they are the champions of the underprivileged classes. Hitler says: "I fight for the sons of the farmers and workers" ("My New Order," p. 88). The Impossible Candidate asserts: "Encouraged by hundreds of thousands of Argentine workers, we pledge ourselves to the attainment of a superior social order" (Ed. Of., p. 61). . . .

Naturally, they declare that they are opposed by the same adversaries. Hitler says the "Judeo-Marxist plutocracy" opposes him ("My New Order," pp. 611, 849); the Impossible Candidate says that the "Communist oligarchy"—and his followers add with venom, "Jewish"—opposes him. . . .

They apply the same instruments of domination. Hitler assumes the title of defender of what he calls the classes ("Mein Kampf," p. 56) and seduces them by unbridled demagogy. . . . He creates Nazi trade unions, ostensibly to protect the rights of workers (Heilen: "History of Nazism," p. 196). He defines the basis of his domestic policy: "To raise the economic standards and remove all obstacles that might exercise a destructive influence on the social body, the Nazi corporation must be the organized concentration of the different groups which participate in the national economic life" ("Mein Kampf," p. 596). The independent trade unions are persecuted and then destroyed. The official trade unions are grouped in the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* headed by a *Reichsleiter*. Their familiar slogan is "work through joy" (Stoffel: "The Dictatorship of German Fascism," p. 90). This organization fixes conditions of work, settles labor disputes, and signs collective-bargaining agreements. The law of February 26, 1935, completes the system: every worker must carry a work card and those even "suspected of holding ideas hostile to the state" can be expelled from the union.

The Impossible Candidate has copied Hitler's plan and applied it carefully in every detail ("Discursos," Ed. Of., p. 108). He, too, has assumed the role of defender of the working class and plagiarized Nazi propaganda. In similar language he proclaims that the trade unions are the base for his domestic policy: "Modern experience has shown that the better-organized working masses can more easily be

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directed and led. That gave me the idea of forming an organization that could guide the trade-union movement, organize it, and make of it a mass which acts rationally in accordance with the directors of the state" (*La Nación,* September 3, 1944; p. 1). The Secretariat of Labor and Welfare, the equivalent of the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront,* is created on November 27, 1943. The independent unions are persecuted and many of them outlawed. In order to transform the remaining organizations into official trade unions, it is necessary to introduce a statute for each profession. The decree of October 2, 1945, establishes the legal system of trade-union associations and places them under the authority of the Secretariat, just as the Nazis had done. The decree of December 20, 1945, provides for the creation of a National Institute on Wages which will serve as an instrument through which to manage the workers now corralled into the official unions by basing wage rises on the decree of docility manifested. "They must not concern themselves with politics" ("Discursos," Ed. Of.; p. 97). The only thing still lacking is the work card without which a worker cannot obtain employment; this will tie the last knot in the noose around labor's neck.

The articles of our constitution are in fundamental conflict with the statutes introduced by the present regime. Article 14 guarantees the right of assembly for lawful purposes and, thereby, the right of workers to associate in independent unions and to concern themselves with politics if they so desire. The same article guarantees the right to seek work, with or without a card, and to obtain a reasonable wage without fear of persecution.

Thus Hitler's legislative program has been reproduced with touching fidelity. On February 28, 1933, Hitler suppressed civil rights; in Argentina a state of siege has been imposed. On May 2, 1933, Hitler dissolved all German associations; in Argentina democratic associations were dissolved on January 17, 1944, including the Junta de la Victoria, the Confederación Democrática Argentina, and the Junta de Ayuda a la Cruz Roja Britanica (Committee of Aid to the British Red Cross). On May 2, 1933, Hitler abolished the independent trade unions; the Argentine trade unions were replaced by official unions under the decrees of July 20, 1943, and October 2, 1945. On May 4, 1933, Hitler created the Ministry of Propaganda; in Argentina the Subsecretariat of Press and Information was created on December 31, 1943. On April 4, 1933, Hitler issued a statute on the press; in Argentina a statute on the press was issued on December 31, 1943. On July 10, 1933, Hitler dissolved the political parties; political parties were dissolved in Argentina on December 31, 1943. On January 30, 1934, Hitler ordered the reorganization of the Reichstag; in Argentina the Congress was dissolved on June 14, 1943. On April 29 and December 30, 1934, Hitler defined crimes against the state; in Argentina the decree of January 15, 1945, defined crimes against the security of the state. On February 10, 1936, Hitler established the Gestapo; in Argentina the Federal Police was established on December 24, 1943.

The process is the same in both cases: when the universities intervene, the professors are dismissed, the students are persecuted, and the books are destroyed. Jewish merchants are assaulted with the same gusto in Buenos Aires as in Nürnberg (Ed. Of., November 29, 1945, p. 1). Hitler established concentration camps; Argentina, too, has concentration camps where prisoners are tortured because they dared assert their inalienable rights as citizens.

All this does not prevent the two men from proclaiming themselves ardent partisans of democracy. Hitler says: "Germany too has a democratic government . . . it is a true democracy . . ." ("My New Order," pp. 192, 309). The Impossible Candidate says that he, too, wishes to establish "a true democracy" in this country. "We shall have an integral democracy" ("Discursos," Ed. Of., pp. 187, 223).

Their promises sound the same note. Hitler professes his hatred of war: "National Socialist Germany, by fundamental conviction, wants peace . . . Germany needs and desires peace" ("My New Order," pp. 313, 475). The Impossible Candidate also "wants to live in peace with all nations of good will" ("Discursos," Ed. Of., p. 69).

Hitler seeks the "unity of the nation" ("My New Order," p. 152). The Impossible Candidate likewise desires "the unity of all Argentines" (Discursos," Ed. Of., p. 98). Both believe it can be accomplished by hanging and shooting.

Hitler says that he alone can save Germany from communism ("My New Order," pp. 212, 302, 411); the Impossible Candidate offers himself as the only one who can "make this grave danger disappear" (*La Nación,* September 3, 1944; p. 1).

Hitler announces that his regime will last a thousand years, and the Impossible Candidate repeats, like a distant feeble echo, that his will last sixty years (*La Nación,* December 13, 1945).

The Impossible Candidate cannot conceal his sympathies for the Axis. One has only to read his speech of July 10, 1944, on national defense: his admiration for Nazism, "for its political, diplomatic, and military conduct," crops out in every paragraph ("Discursos," Ed. Of., p. 69)—at a time when Argentine had already severed relations with the Axis.

The followers of the Impossible Candidate have obstreperously demonstrated their true feelings. The streets of the Republic echoed their cries of defiance before the defeat of the Axis. Their slogans are: "Viva Perón!" "Death to democracy!" "Death to the Jews!" "Books—No!" "Build the country; kill the students!" (*La Nación,* August 14 and 17, December 23, 1945; *La Razón,* August 11 and 16, 1945; etc.). These demonstrations need no label. . . .

The examples cited above prove that the Impossible Candidate is not fit, under Article 16 of the constitution, to be President of the Republic. The destiny of the nation cannot be intrusted to a man whose principles are incompatible with the institutions for which the great leaders of the past fought. To deliver the government to him . . . would be to compound the crime of President Hindenburg, who on January 30, 1933, named Adolf Hitler Chancellor of the Reich, and to launch our country into a similar adventure. We have seen the destroyed cities, the ravaged land of Germany and Italy, the starving people, crushed through the fault of a savior like the Impossible Candidate, and we are resolved that our country shall not suffer such devastation.

Only the tradition of Rivadavia, of Echeverría, and of Alberdi—the glorious tradition that made our country great under the ægis of justice and law—can save this nation.

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If I Had to Choose

AS a long-time disciple of Jefferson, I hold that if I had to choose between a free press and any other agency, I would choose a free press; for where the press is free, no bad cause can long exist. And by freedom of the press I mean that no influence, whether of money or power or any other thing, either directs its policy or inclines it to suppression, or advocacy, for any consideration except the common good. The independence, fearlessness, and ability of *The Nation* make it an influential agency in an era when leadership without strings is the hope of a drifting world.—*Josephus Daniels*

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